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NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

HIZBULLAH'S CULTURE WARS—UNDERSTANDING HIZBULLAH THROUGH SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY AND ITS MEDIA USAGE

by

Jacqueline S. Kiel

March 2009

Thesis Advisor: Glenn E. Robinson Second Reader: Dorothy Denning

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This thesis uses social movement theory to examine how Hizbullah frames its message to its various target audiences. The growth and influence of different Hizbullah media over the past two decades suggest that Hizbullah has been successful in shaping a popular message both inside Lebanon and in the larger Arab world. Hizbullah's successful media campaign has paralleled its growth as perhaps the single most important political party in Lebanon today. The 'terrorist' frame that the U.S. Government applies to Hizbullah appears inconsistent with the broad political, economic, social and media work of this largely Shi'a organization.

I compare message framing between al-Manar, Hizbullah's flagship media, and Al-Jazeera on the same set of stories from the 2006 Lebanon war and the 2008 Gaza war, both to analyze the internal framing of issues by Hizbullah and to compare it to the leading Arabic media today. Al-Manar frames its message largely in polarizing 'hero-victim' terms, while Al-Jazeera is far more factual and professional in its presentation of the same stories. Using heroic types of frames has both benefits and disadvantages for Hizbullah's information strategy.

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HIZBULLAH'S CULTURE WARS—UNDERSTANDING HIZBULLAH THROUGH SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY AND ITS MEDIA USAGE

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This thesis uses social movement theory to examine how Hizbullah frames its message to its various target audiences. The growth and influence of different Hizbullah media over the past two decades suggest that Hizbullah has been successful in shaping a popular message, both inside Lebanon and in the larger Arab world. Hizbullah's successful media campaign has paralleled its growth as perhaps the single most important political party in Lebanon today. The "terrorist" frame that the U.S. Government applies to Hizbullah appears inconsistent with the broad political, economic, social and media work of this largely Shi'a organization.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. IMPORTANCE

The purpose of this thesis is to study Hizbullah's use of the media and its specific cultural "framing." Hizbullah's framing of messages conveyed through its media arm, al-Manar, is examined and compared with the framing used by al-Jazeera.

Al-Manar has a specific purpose and that is to reach its target audience and get its message out, and that message is Hizbullah's message. Hizbullah has a specific agenda. It wants to expand its reach, which it has done in recent years, as proven by its seats in the Lebanese government. Hizbullah wants to continue its fight against Israel, a fight it sees as just. Furthermore, it wants to garner support from all Lebanese people and continue to make itself an important part of Lebanese society.

This case study is important because is shows Hizbullah has been successful in its outreach program and continues to be so. Hizbullah's framing has been a powerful tool, one that the group has used to continue to sway its primary target audience to join the ranks of the group and even to die for the cause.

This case study is important also because it shows that whereas al-Manar's framing remains strongly anti-American, al-Jazeera is not anti-American and in fact is more objective and neutral, and can therefore be utilized by the U.S. to reach an Arab audience. Al-Jazeera can be the perfect tool for the United State to utilize in the war of ideas. While it is not the only tool, there are other Arab media outlets, some more moderate, some less, al-Jazeera is the most popular among Arab people and thus should be considered as the appropriate tool at the appropriate time to be used by the United States to reach the Arab population.

1. Background

Hizbullah is an organization composed primarily of Shi'a in Lebanon, who make up a plurality of the total Lebanese population. It is both a political and a paramilitary organization. Its leaders initially denied that it was an official group with a formal organizational structure. Now a significant force in Lebanese politics, Hizbullah began to

emerge in 1982 as a response to Israel's invasion of Lebanon. The group is determined to resist Israeli occupation. They want to be a primary player in Lebanese politics.

Four countries list Hizbullah as a terrorist organization: the United States, Israel, Canada, and The Netherlands. Most Arab and Muslim people believe them to be legitimate resistance fighters. Additionally, they are one of the main social service providers among the Shi'a in Lebanon, where they operate schools and hospitals and provide other services.

Hizbullah has taken the use of the media, especially the Internet, to new heights, at one time using its Web site, in one of the site's various iterations, as an extension of its conflict with Israel. In other words, at times the site has been very graphic and bloody, while at other times it has had a professional and appealing appearance with links to information about Hizbullah, Israel, and U.S. government sites, as well as respected international publications.¹

Hizbullah has used its Web site to reach out not only to its target audience, but to address outside audiences, such as Israeli and Western audiences—not to engage or target those audiences, but to "Stake its ground in international media as a kind of counterinformation system . . . to present itself as a vital political player to be reckoned with."²

Hizbullah offers news, commentary, and entertainment on its al-Manar television station, which is also available internationally via the Internet. Some argue that al-Manar uses propaganda regularly, while others claim that its offerings are simply robust and well-rounded.

2. The "War of Ideas"

The United States' reputation has become tainted of late. Americans are called arrogant. For example, in Europe, U.S. favorability ratings were 83 percent in

¹ Jenine Abboushi Dallal, "Hizballah's Virtual Civil Society," *Television and News Media*, 2001:2:369.

² Dallal, "Hizballah's Virtual Civil Society," 368.

Great Britain in 2000, but down to 53 percent by 2008. The drop in numbers was similar in other European countries. In France, the numbers went from 62 to 42 percent, in dealt with stability in the area.³

The way to win the war of ideas is to use "smart power" and become more persuasive. Some countries have come to resent U.S. power, and many believe the U.S. acts only unilaterally. According to Blinken, "The default approach of the U.S. government should be to work with others whenever it can and to act alone only when it must. This strategy requires building coalitions, sustaining alliances, and forging compromises."⁴

On a positive note, the Pew Poll had some encouraging news in the globalization arena, where commercial ties between countries is increasing, something the United Germany, 78 to 31 percent, and in Spain, 50 to 33 percent, respectively.⁵

In an examination of anti-American views, worldwide, positive views of America dropped in 26 of 33 countries polled in which the question was asked in 2002 and in 2007. In Turkey, the favorable view went from 30 percent in 2002, to 9 percent in 2007; and in Jordan, the numbers were 25 percent in 2002 and 20 percent in 2007. In Russia, the numbers dropped from 61 to 41 percent; in Japan, 72 to 61 percent; and in Indonesia, 61 to 29 percent. Interestingly enough, in Pakistan, the numbers went from 10 percent in 2002 to 15 percent in 2007, and Lebanon also showed an increase with the numbers in 2002 at 36 percent compared with 47 percent in 2007.

In addition, America's presence in Iraq was considered to be "an equal or greater danger to stability in the Middle East than the regime of Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad," as judged by 13 of 15 countries responding to a survey question in 2006 that States has considered important for some time. The United States needs to take advantage of positive news and put it to good use in the perception war.

³ "Global Public Opinion in the Bush Years (2001-2008)," *The Pew Global Attitudes Project*, December 18, 2008.

⁴ Antony J. Blinken, "Winning the War of Ideas," *The Washington Quarterly*, Spring 2002, 113.

⁵ "Global Public Opinion," December 2008.

⁶ "Global Public Opinion," December 2008.

⁷ "Global Public Opinion," December 2008.

The war of ideas will also be won with "soft power." Just what is soft power? "Soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others." According to Nye, the current issue in regard to Islamist terrorism is to win by getting the moderate Muslims to win and, in that regard, the United States needs to be able to appeal to those moderate Muslims, so that they do not become extremists. He goes on to say, "America's partners work with us partly out of self-interest, but the inherent attractiveness of U.S. policies can and does influence their degree of cooperation."

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

Wiktorowicz edited the essential book on the application of social movement theory to Islamic activism. The subject-matter contributors to *Islamic Activism* discover the perspectives of Islamic activists through interviews and other methods. Their work lends credence to the value of social movement theory for Islamic studies, and furthers its factual base. In

"Collective behavior theorists were right to argue that movements often occur in the context of mass enthusiasm and highly charged emotions," writes Morris in an article about social movement theory in *Contemporary Sociology*. Morris's quote refers to the civil rights movement, but is just as appropriately applied to other emotional gatherings. Morris points out that the civil rights movement was driven by both the charged atmosphere and the institutional structure of African-American churches. The framing process begins with the difference between emotions and institutional structure. Morris discusses "frame lifting," a process in which movement leaders "shape the collective action to match an institutionally embedded frame." This concept is relevant to

⁸ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power—The Means to Success in World Politics*, New York: Public Affairs, 2004, 5.

⁹ Nye, Soft Power, 131.

¹⁰ Quintan Wiktotowicz. *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, ed. Quintan Wiktorowicz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).

¹¹ Charles Kurzman, "Conclusion," in Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach, 298.

¹² Aldon D. Morris, "Reflections on Social Movement Theory: Criticisms and Proposals," *Contemporary Sociology*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (May 2000), 448.

¹³ Morris, "Reflections on Social Movement Theory: Criticisms and Proposals," 449.

Hizbullah and its charismatic leader Secretary General Hassan Nasrallah. For example, sacrifice is a frame and Nasrallah condones sacrifice and martyrdom.

What actually makes people support a movement? Evidence exists showing there is a relationship between participation in low-risk/low-cost activism and contact with someone who is recruiting for the cause. He cause there will be any consequences to participation. The costs of this kind of activism would be small and considered safe. What Doug McAdam terms low-risk/low-cost activism—writing letters, giving money or signing petitions—is what most people engage in. Also, low-risk/low-cost participation may be just the beginning. Showing up at a rally may be just the thing to whet one's appetite for a particular cause. The more one hears about an issue, the more swayed the individual becomes, and the more likely the individual will participate again.

But what about high-risk/high-cost activism? McAdam has studied why some people get involved with high-cost activism, while others do not. His 1986 study dealt with the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer, where participants were to assist in staffing schools and registering black voters, among other tasks. He compared two groups: those who ultimately participated in the high-risk/high-cost endeavor and those who did not. His findings suggested that organizational affiliations on the part of the applicants proved to be a significant predictor, as was the type of organization participants were affiliated with. The participants tended to join political organizations, while the nonparticipants did not. In additional, participants had many more ties to other applicants prior to the application process. Finally, those who had prior activism experience, specifically with civil rights issues, were more likely to participate.¹⁷

Social movement theory insights on framing are important for Middle East and Arab politics because a new administration in the United States provides a new

¹⁴ Doug McAdam, "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: the Case of Freedom Summer," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 92, No. 1 (July 1986), 68.

¹⁵ Doug McAdam, "The Biographical Consequences of Activism," *American Sociological Review*, 1989, 54(5), 744. Retrieved March 29, 2009, from ABI/INFORM Global database. (Document ID: 1528776).

¹⁶ McAdam, "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism," 69-70.

¹⁷ McAdam, "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism," 71-88.

opportunity to think about engaging in an appropriate outreach program. It is wise to consider where a message can be put to use, and where it cannot. Investigating a particular medium to ascertain whether it is middle-of-the-road or radical in its framing is an initial and important step toward determining if it can be useful for communicating the United States' foreign policy messages to a mass audience.

Frames assist in making events meaningful to an individual and thus can guide one's actions.¹⁸ These frames are "collective action frames." The purpose is not only to garner support, but to produce intended actions. These frames are also intended to "legitimate" social movement campaigns.¹⁹

Another important concept is counterframing, where opposing frames can affect a movement's framing intentions. However, effective counterframing can be difficult, as with some advanced though, frames can be well defined that will fit into a culture and be immune to counterframing.²⁰ For example, self-sacrifice is very much a Shi'a frame and trying to counter framing it would be counterproductive. It is considered a way of life for any pious Shi'a and thus is resistant to counterframing.

Collective action frames have variable features as well. Some are flexible, while others are rigid; some vary in scope and influence, while some are limited; and some can be quite wide in scope. These are considered "master frames," which tend to be much more generic in nature. Frames have variable resonances that deal with credibility, which is why some seem to work and others do not. Another part of resonance is how the frame fits in terms of world events.²¹ For Hizbullah, the resistance frame is an obvious fit to events in that part of the world.

There is evidence that frames can be contested and changed or modified though discourse, which would change events and, thus, possibly modify beliefs in frames being used by movement actors.²² However, in the case of Hizbullah, using the resistance and

¹⁸ Robert D. Benford, David A. Snow, "Framing Processes and Social Movements: an Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology*, August 2000, 614.

¹⁹ Benford, Snow, Framing Processes, 614.

²⁰ Benford, Snow, Framing Processes, 617.

²¹ Benford, Snow, Framing Processes, 619-20.

²² Benford, Snow, Framing Processes, 627.

martyrdom frames as examples, those are strong frames and not very likely to be overcome by other frames or framing events, at least not in the foreseeable future. Those two particular frames are two around which much of Hizbullah's message is built because of its continuing conflict with Israel.

Hizbullah has made framing a political process and a political opportunity.

To argue that framing processes and political opportunity are linked interactively is not to suggest that political opportunities are purely socially constructed entities. It is to argue, however, that the extent to which they constrain or facilitate collective action is partly contingent on how they are framed by movement actors as well as others.²³

In Hizbullah's case, the extent is wide.

This study is an examination of Hizbullah's frames, and an analysis to determine if those frames have changed in the last few years, specifically from 2006 to 2009.

Initial insight into Hizbullah as an organization was obtained from the book *Hezbollah—A Short History* by Augustus Richard Norton, which offered a great deal of information on various dynamics of the group, not just its military aspect.²⁴ Also utilized were various journal articles; some hostile to Hizbullah, some not.

Various publications, including journals and Web sites, were utilized to gain insight into al-Manar and al-Jazeera, including Baylouny's comparison paper on al-Manar and Alhurra.²⁵

C. FINDINGS

My research produced five main findings. First, the two dominant frames are resistance and martyrdom. These two frames are used, for the most part, by al-Manar. The resistance frame has brought together the Shi'a and the Sunnis, as their shared resistance gives the Shi'a credence in the eyes of the Sunni. The Palestinian issue is another arena in which the Sunni see the Shi'a in a positive light. These are two issues where Hizbullah has used its influence and its resistance frame to enlighten and enhance

²³ Benford, Snow, Framing Processes, 631.

²⁴ Augustus Richard Norton, *Hezbollah: A Short History*, Princeton and Oxford, July 2007.

²⁵ Anne Marie Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra: Competing Satellite Stations and Ideologies," George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies Occasional Paper Series No. 2, October 2006, 7.

its relationships to the Sunni people and to bring together all Lebanese people.²⁶ Hizbullah has ultimately been able to garner enough support to establish itself in the Lebanese government where it now holds 23 of 128 available parliamentary seats. Thus, the Sunni have come to accept the Shia's because of the Shia's continued successful resistance toward Israel by Hizbullah.

Second, Al-Jazeera uses some resistance and martyrdom framing, but not to the degree evident in al-Manar. Al-Jazeera appears more mainstream, and its framing is much more subtle. Based on the research, al-Jazeera would be an appropriate venue for the current administration to use in reaching out to the Arab people. In terms of viewership, al-Jazeera is the most-watched Arab station and could provide an opportunity to reach a huge audience.

Third, al-Manar displays very strong anti-Israeli and anti-American frames, though it is the American government that is the real target of disdain, at least according to the leaders of Hizbullah. These frames are not subtle: they name call blatantly and unapologetically. However, this is how the group engages its audience, and the name-calling supports the work of Hizbullah. Al-Jazeera is quite the opposite, conveying a more neutral message using blander language. In overall tone, al-Jazeera is much like any American news program, where the desire is simply to get the news out.

Fourth, the frames of Lebanese solidarity and Arab nationalism, or pride, are also obvious, and even more so now that Hizbullah is receiving greater support from the general Lebanese population, due to the success of its resistance policy. Lebanese solidarity and Arab nationalism, combined with contempt for Israel and the U.S. government as a supporter of Israel, rounds out the final frame.

Fifth, al-Manar displays frames of defiance and sacrifice. One could argue that defiance and sacrefice *are* resistance and martyrdom, respectively, but to lesser degrees. Defiance is a form of resistance and sacrifice is not quite martyrdom, as the ultimate price has not yet been paid. These two frames were seen to a much lesser degree in my research.

²⁶ Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 6.

D. METHODOLOGY

The written and video content of various Web sites in English and in Arabic are examined to determine frames. The overall tone of the pieces, as well as specific words used in each piece, is studied including the number of times specific terms are used throughout the content. For example, the term "resistance" is used regularly in many of the al-Manar articles and that particular term is one of Hizbullah's most important frames; one the group has built upon over the years. In addition, music videos are viewed to observe first-hand how al-Manar produces its patriotic pieces. Viewer comments are also looked at to determine if viewers were in line with al-Manar, and though the comments did reflect the frames of al-Manar, the comments are not included in study. Photos were also examined, as a picture can be an attention getter, and Hizbullah has some photos that the group put to good use. Other researchers' findings in regard to framing are also reviewed. The findings of this study are consistent with what other researchers have found.

This case study uses al-Manar and al-Jazeera Web sites to represent the television stations of each, as both al-Manar and al-Jazeera place news articles and video on their Web sites for further dissemination. For the news article analysis, only the Arabic Web sites were used, so that the framing examined is that designed for the Arabic-speaking audience. The Arabic is translated verbatim by a translator for the analysis.

Two time periods, encompassing two specific conflicts, are examined: the July 2006 Lebanon conflict and the December 2008-January 2009 Gaza conflict. Five articles each from al-Manar and al-Jazeera are selected and examined for each time period. The articles are compared with others of the same time period from each source, and the al-Manar and al-Jazeera articles are compared within and across time periods.

E. THESIS ORGANIZATION

Chapter II discusses the media and the war of ideas. Hizbullah-owned media, al-Manar history and viewership, including polling data, and Hizbullah Web sites are discussed. The chapter includes a comparison of the al-Manar and al-Jazeera Web sites.

Chapter III delves into Hizbullah's framing and psychological operations, and discusses the use of psychological operations in al-Manar's news reporting. The chapter discusses both broadcast and Internet use of videotaped footage as propaganda. Programming available on al-Manar television is also discussed, and the use of specific frames is examined.

Chapter IV contains the analysis of al-Manar and al-Jazeera news stories, based on representative items selected from each of their Web sites within the two specified time periods. The al-Manar and al-Jazeera news reports are compared within each time period and over time.

Chapter V presents a summary and conclusions, including reflections on recent changes in the United States' approach to communicating to the Arab-speaking world since the Obama administration took office in January 2009.

II. HIZBULLAH AND THE MEDIA

A. INTRODUCTION

Hizbullah has become increasingly sophisticated in its use of the media. For many years, only print and broadcasting products were available in Lebanon, and these media were state dominated. The increased public usage of the internet, along with its anonymity, changes the situation. The Internet is an effective tool for Hizbullah to gain support and recruit new members, and also serves as a money-making enterprise for Hizbullah to further its agenda. This chapter begins with a discussion of the importance of the media, illustrated with examples from the first and second wars in Iraq. It then presents an overview of the Arab media, with a focus on the media owned and controlled by Hizbullah. This chapter also discusses the war of ideas, which is one area in which Hizbullah is doing well, as shown by its poll numbers, while the United States is still struggling with the concept. Hizbullah is attempting to reach out to an English-speaking audience in a realist manner, while the United States' attempts seem weak and lackluster.

B. THE MEDIA AND THE WAR OF IDEAS

The focus of this thesis on Hizbullah's use of the media is important as a case study in the war of ideas. In this struggle to influence public opinion, the use of the media is crucial and, as Blinken suggests, can play a role in public diplomacy.²⁷

In *Voices of the New Arab Public: Iraq, Al-Jazeera, and Middle East Politics Today*, Lynch states that Arab television portrays a multitude of political views. These include views on the United States ranging from pro-American to radically anti-American. Al-Manar, the Hizbullah television station, represents the latter.²⁸ Television in general is a new arena, and Islamists typically use means other than television for propaganda dissemination, such as pamphlets. Hizbullah is the exception.²⁹

²⁷ Blinken, "War of Ideas," 108.

²⁸ Marc Lynch, Voices of the New Arab Public. Iraq, Al-Jazeera, and Middle East Politics Today, New York, 2006, 5.

²⁹ Lynch, "New Arab Public," 83.

Even al-Jazeera, which has been accused of being, as Lynch puts it, "'Jihad TV' or an 'on-line madrassa," tends to "under-represent Islamism." Several analysts suggest that the United States can use the Arab media to its advantage in the war of ideas.

Writing on the decline of public diplomacy, Blinken considers recommendations from Campbell and Flournoy's 2001 book, *To Prevail: An American Strategy for the Campaign against Terrorism.* One recommendation is to "better utilize the media in the Arab and Muslim worlds." As an example, Blinken writes that Osama bin Laden "scored a propaganda coup" with a broadcast of his statement on al-Jazeera on October 7, 2001. Rather than counter what bin Laden said, U.S. officials tried to prevent al-Jazeera from broadcasting such messages. This was a mistake, according to Blinken. Although Secretary of State Colin Powell and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice both appeared on al-Jazeera, President George W. Bush did not. Blinken sees this as a missed opportunity. The administration should have taken advantage of the fact that al-Jazeera wanted to get input from U.S. officials.³¹

While al-Jazeera is what Blinken calls, "hardly free of bias," it can still provide an opportunity for the United States to reach a global audience of 35 million Arabic speakers, providing an "open forum that the U.S. government should seize, not censor."³² A recent *New York Times* article discusses the fact that Bush objected to the portrayal of the United States by Arab television in general, calling it "propaganda."³³ While the U.S. government is not particularly well-regarded by the Arab media, the media do tend to think well of the American people.³⁴ The article's authors contend that the pool of Arab media can act as allies if given the opportunity.

During Operation Desert Storm, media coverage and information flow was carefully controlled by the American-led coalition, according to various reports that

³⁰ Lynch, "New Arab Public," 83.

³¹ Blinken, "War of Ideas," 108.

³² Blinken, "War of Ideas," 108.

³³ Lawrence Pintak, Jeremy Gingles, and Nicholas Felton, "Misreading the Arab Media," *The New York Times*, May 25, 2008, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/25/opinion/25pintak.html (Accessed May 25, 2008).

³⁴ Lawrence Pintak, Jeremy Gingles and Nicholas Felton, "Misreading Arab Media."

Lynch points out.³⁵ In 2003, at the start of the second U.S. invasion of Iraq, this was not the case. Al Jazeera and other Arab stations portrayed Operation Iraqi Freedom in an entirely different fashion. According to Lynch, they emphasized "civilian suffering and American setbacks, rather than a bloodless and popular liberation."³⁶ Mistakes on the part of the Americans, in combination with the growing insurgency, made it difficult for the Iraqis to form their own "credible, independent and critical Iraqi public sphere." ³⁷ The Arab media took advantage of the situation. In Operation Iraqi Freedom, as a result of changes in technology and the use of political talk shows and news coverage, the United States lost control over information flow. Without credible Iraqi media to garner the attention of the Iraqi people, various Arab media, including al-Jazeera, al-Arabiya, al-Manar, and Iran's Arabic language al-Alam, became primary information sources for the Iraqis.³⁸ While the Coalition Provisional Authority did establish and run an electronic media organization, it was quickly perceived by the Iraqis as a mouthpiece for the "occupiers." It provided little programming, which was considered of poor quality, and was ignored by the population.³⁹

C. HIZBULLAH-OWNED MEDIA

Hizbullah owns a number of different media catering to various audiences, including women and youth. For example, they own the magazine *al-Intiqad*, the radio station al-Nour and the increasingly popular television station al-Manar, which has been available via satellite since 2000.⁴⁰ Al-Manar is available on the Internet primarily in Arabic, but does have English and French versions.

Hizbullah initially disseminated its propaganda with written materials, but has become increasingly sophisticated through the years. Its weekly journal, *Al Ahd* (The

³⁵ Lynch, "New Arab Public," 5.

³⁶ Lynch, "New Arab Public," 6.

³⁷ Lynch, "New Arab Public," 216.

³⁸ Lynch, "New Arab Public," 217.

³⁹ Lynch, "New Arab Public," 217.

⁴⁰ Mona Harb and Reinoud Leenders, "Know Thy Enemy: Hizbullah, 'Terrorism' and the Politics of Perception," *Third World Quarterly*, 26:1, 188.

Promise) was first published sometime in the 1980s, followed by a series of three other weekly journals and one monthly publication called *Al Sabil*.⁴¹ Hizbullah also launched three radio stations, the Voice of Islam, the Voice of the Oppressed, and Al Nahar (The Light). However, it is Hizbullah's two television stations, al-Manar and al Fajr (Dawn), that have gained it a wide-ranging audience.⁴²

D. AL-MANAR: HISTORY AND VIEWERSHIP

In an article written in 2004, Avi Jorisch states that while many terrorist organizations use both print and broadcasting, Hizbullah has taken the use of the media to the next level, as they operate a "full-fledged television station, offering a rich menu of news, commentary and entertainment."⁴³ He goes on to say it is now

. . . a mass media outlet with global reach. With access to continuous funding from Iran, the station has grown by leaps and bounds from a clandestine, ramshackle operation to a comprehensive satellite station.⁴⁴

According to Baylouny, the station, widely available via satellite, is quite popular and appears in polls as one of the top four news stations in the Middle East.⁴⁵ The station is banned in the United States and some European countries, and is simply unavailable in others.

According to Nayef Krayem, chairman of al-Manar's board of directors, the station is among the top five in the Arab world, with about 10 million daily viewers worldwide. Jorisch notes that while those numbers are not verified, the station won four top awards in a Cairo broadcasting festival in 2001.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Ron Schleifer, "Psychological Operations: A New Variation on an Age Old Art: Hezbollah versus Israel," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 29:1, 13.

⁴² Schleifer, "Psychological Operations," 13.

⁴³ Avi Jorisch, "Al-Manar: Hizbullah TV, 24/7," Middle East Quarterly, Winter 2004.

⁴⁴ Jorisch, "Hizbullah TV, 24/7."

⁴⁵ Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 7.

⁴⁶ Jorisch, "Hizbullah TV, 24/7."

The relative popularity of al-Manar, in comparison with other Arab media, depends on current political events. In Lebanon, they have decent numbers overall; however, during times of greater conflict in the region, al-Manar viewership in Lebanon tends to increase dramatically.

Though al-Manar has a loyal following, it still does not come close to the viewership levels enjoyed by al-Jazeera, the Arab world's most popular television station. A Zogby International survey completed in June 2004 found that al-Jazeera was the most-watched Arab station overall, and was the market leader, even with increased competition. "It ranked as the primary station for 62 percent of Jordanians, 54 percent of Moroccans, 44 percent of Lebanese, 44 percent of Saudis, and 46 percent in the UAE."⁴⁷ Al-Arabiya came in second, with about 7-8 percent viewership in most areas.

The most recent Zogby poll of respondents from Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) was conducted in March 2008.⁴⁸ Al-Jazeera continues to have the largest share of viewers, with 53 percent overall choosing it as their primary source of news. This result differs little from the previous year.⁴⁹ Overall, an Egyptian network has 17 percent and al-Arabiya has 9 percent. Al-Manar has only 2 percent viewership in the six countries surveyed. In Egypt, 55 percent of respondents choose al-Jazeera, while only 1 percent watch al-Manar. In Jordan, 36 percent tune in to al-Jazeera, while al-Manar does not register. In Morocco, it is 59 percent for al-Jazeera and only 1 percent for al-Manar. For Saudi Arabia, it is 40 percent al-Jazeera and 1 percent al-Manar, and in the UAE, one of al-Manar's better areas, al-Jazeera is watched by 32 percent and al-Manar by 13 percent.⁵⁰ However, among Lebanese respondents, al-Manar is more popular with 38 percent, al-Jazeera came in second with 13 percent, and al Arabiya had 8 percent.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Lynch, "New Arab Public," 45.

⁴⁸ Shibley Telhami. (Principal Investigator) 2008 Annual Arab Public Opinion Poll conducted with Zogby International, March 2008.

⁴⁹ Telhami, *Public Opinion Poll*.

⁵⁰ Telhami, *Public Opinion Poll*.

⁵¹ Telhami, *Public Opinion Poll*.

E. HIZBULLAH WEB SITES

Hizbullah is a "media savvy organization," according to Weimann, who says they were one of the first terrorist organizations to add a network of Web sites to their other media.⁵² These Web sites are available in various languages, take a variety of approaches, and are designed to appeal to a variety of specific audiences.

According to Weimann, Hizbullah has three Web sites besides al-Manar that are dedicated to fundraising for specific causes, which include charities and military operations.⁵³ These sites solicit for money using the term "martyr," which is seen over and over again in Hizbullah's framing.⁵⁴

For example, Weimann describes one Web site, Muqawama (Resistance), meant to attract women. Presenting itself as "a journalistic Web site," it turns out to be an English version of a site belonging to the Islamic Resistance Support Association, a charity that collects donations to support Hizbullah.⁵⁵ (The site is no longer available at the original Web address.)

One site that covers Lebanese news and information, LebWeb.com, has a polished look.⁵⁶ However, the relationship between Hizbullah and the LebWeb.com site is unknown, though it is the site that appears when www.moqawama.com is plugged into a Web browser. LebWeb.com contains news articles without propaganda or derogatory comments about "Zionists." Many of the news articles link to worldwide news sites such as Reuters, and they do not reflect the expected spin. Additionally, the highly regarded English-language Lebanese newspaper in the Middle East, *The Daily Star*, is readily available on the site.

Yet, the fact remains that some of these Web sites can be quite dramatic and disturbing, portraying violence combined with patriotic music and themes. This is further explored in the discussion of al-Manar's framing in Chapter III.

⁵² Gabriel Weimann, *Terror on the Internet: The New Arena, the New Challenges*, Washington, D.C., 2006, 88.

⁵³ Weimann, Terror on the Internet, 140.

⁵⁴ Weimann, Terror on the Internet, 140.

⁵⁵ Weimann, *Terror on the Internet*, 90.

⁵⁶ The Web site can be found by entering moqawama.com. The LebWeb site is what comes up.

F. A COMPARISON BETWEEN AL-MANAR AND AL-JAZEERA WEB SITES

At first glance, the English version of the al-Jazeera Web site, at http://english.aljazeera.net, seems much more interesting than the English version of the al-Manar Web site. The al-Jazeera layout seems more intuitive and user friendly, an assessment perhaps biased by the fact that the layout is in a format familiar to Americans, as it is comparable to sites such as CNN and Fox News Web sites.

Al-Manar's Web site is at http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/HomePage.aspx; the link to the English version is at http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/News.aspx? language=en. In a word, it is rather sparse. English language newscasts and other programming are available on al-Jazeera in a couple of different ways, but not on al-Manar. The English al-Jazeera site has links to live English newscasts, talk shows, and a YouTube Web site. Al-Jazeera can keep an audience entertained. In an episode of the Riz Kahn program that aired on June 11, 2008, the question of the day, "How is Barack Obama redefining blackness in America?" was the topic of an interesting call-in program, with appropriate guests and commentary.

Differences between the al-Manar and al-Jazeera sites may be partly explained by cost. Al-Jazeera has a much bigger budget though it is still state sponsored, it does have a goal to eventually privatize.⁵⁷ With its huge viewership and desire to reach a greater audience, al-Jazeera is wise to make programming available to English speakers. Al-Manar probably has neither the budget nor the desire to reach out that much; one might be surprised that Hizbullah has an English-language Web site at all.

Hizbullah's lack of outreach to English speakers is possibly due to a large degree to the fact that it is still striving to reach out to its own people. Its victory in government is still quite recent, and that struggle continues, as its framing will show. Hizbullah must continue to communicate to its people what it means to be Lebanese. Of course, it is also continuing the "resistance" frame toward Israel, as will be fully discussed in Chapter III.

http://business.timesonline.co.uk/tol/business/industry_sectors/media/article4607993.ece (Accessed April 5, 2009).

⁵⁷ Dan Sabbaugh, "Al-Jazeera Makes Privatisation its Goal With Move Into Football Coverage," Arab Media Watch, August 26, 2008.

On the other hand, al-Jazeera is a much larger media entity, reaching a much larger audience. It has a reputation for featuring debates between participants on issues of the day that will definitely create controversy. For example, according to Gambill, opponents and supporters of the Israeli peace process would appear on the same program, as would Islamist militants and secular liberals.⁵⁸ In addition, Osama bin Laden was interviewed in 1999 and again shortly after September 11, 2001. Al-Jazeera was accused of being a part of al-Qaida because of the airing of the second set of interviews, those in 2001.⁵⁹ So, while it strives to reach a U.S. audience with its three-year-old al-Jazeera English channel, it is hitting a roadblock because of its Arabic sister's image. What al-Jazeera's English channel is trying to do now is to let its U.S. audience know that it is both available and a believable and viable news source.⁶⁰

The commercial breaks on al-Jazeera television programs, provided via the Internet, deal with programming and public service announcements. In contrast, no commercial breaks or advertisements are found on the al-Manar site.

In summary, Al-Jazeera's style is reminiscent of CNN's style of broadcasting. In contrast, the al-Manar Web site is more sterile, plain, and to the point; less interesting and less dynamic than al-Jazeera's. However, the messages and the framing are apparent in both. The framing of the television stations and their related Web sites is described and compared in Chapters III and IV.

It is Hizbullah's framing via al-Manar that has provided the group with so much attention and increased its popularity. Hizbullah demonstrates its patriotism through videos combined with music, historic images, and speeches. The image Hizbullah portrays has an aura of defiance and resistance. The group has managed to market itself at

⁵⁸ Gary C. Gambill, "Qatar's Al-Jazeera TV: The Power of Free Speech," *Middle East Intelligence Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No.5, June 1, 2000. http://www.meib.org/articles/0006 me2.htm (Accessed on February 28, 2009).

⁵⁹ David Foldenflik. "Al-Jazeera English Struggles For U.S. Audience," *NPR*, February 24, 2009, http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=101071599&ft=1&f=1001 (Accessed on February 28, 2009)

⁶⁰ Foldenflik, "Al-Jazeera English."

a new level. Hizbullah has gained a great deal of political capital in Lebanon and the Arab world in the past two years because of its skill at framing political violence in a way that rings true with its constituencies.⁶¹

G. CONCLUSION

Today's media, especially with the availability and anonymity of the Internet, provides everyone with the capability of seeing and hearing whatever message anyone, anywhere wants to put out. Knowing what is being said and how it is being said by an adversary is important, no matter who that adversary is and what that person or group is saying. Al-Manar and a-Jazeera operate and communicate differently to their respective audiences, and it is something the United States needs to be aware of. The outreach and framing they use will be different, as they have different messages they are sending, and different audiences they are attempting to reach. Al-Manar can be much more specific, as it must continue to use an Arabic frame and a frame of what it means to be Lebanese. Of course, the fight against Israel and the continued resistance will also be a continuing frame for al-Manar.

Al-Jazeera, on the other hand, can be much less confined in its framing, as it continues its outreach. Though the Arabic version will undoubtedly have specific frames for that particular audience, the English version will also have frames designed for an English-speaking audience.

⁶¹ Pete Ajemian, "Resistance beyond time and space: Hizbullah's media campaigns," *Arab Media & Society*, May 2008, 1.

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III. HIZBULLAH'S FRAMING AND PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS (PSYOPS)

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on how Hizbullah uses the al-Manar television station, and its associated Web site, to convey its message to target audiences. Hizbullah's various messages and use of psychological operations are examined. How Hizbullah presents its various messages is equally important. Presentation can be the driving force for messages. When the presentation is right and the frame is right, messages have a better chance of getting through to the masses, and a medium as powerful and readily available as the Internet opens access to a global audience.

The prevalent frames al-Manar exhibits throughout its media are those of resistance, martyrdom, pride in its Arab heritage, continued Lebanese solidarity, and hatred of the Israelis and the U.S. policies in the Middle East, especially policies in regard to Israel. The messages of patriotism are found in music videos meant to motivate and in news programs where Hizbullah can control the message through the type of video being released. Martyrdom is a basic frame in all al-Manar pieces, where any Lebanese person who is killed is labeled a martyr. The message of solidarity is an important one, specifically due to the rift between the Shi'a and Sunni, and its continued resistance is generally viewed by Arabs in a positive way. Continued resistance by Hizbullah also provides a greater acceptance of the Shi'a by the Sunnis.⁶² Messages of resistance and martyrdom are most prevalent in Web sites and in news articles; both terms are used extensively.

⁶² Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 5.

B. FRAMING

Framing is what Robinson calls "the bumper-sticker version of how issues get interpreted within a certain ideological context." The fewest words possible are used to convey the message. Robinson's examples are "pro-choice" and "pro-life"; terms that provoke specific strong reactions. He writes that using cultural frames is the best method for a social movement to communicate its ideology to its people.

Wiktorowicz explains, "Frames represent interpretive schemata that offer a language and cognitive tools for making sense of experiences and events in the 'world out there." These frames or schemata are used in the social movement theory context to "mobilize participants and support." 64

C. PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS (PSYOPS)

The Department of Defense defines Psychological Operations (PSYOPS) as

. . . planned operations to convey selected information and indicators to foreign audiences to influence their emotions, motives, objective reasoning, and ultimately the behavior of foreign governments, organizations, groups, and individuals.⁶⁵

According to a Congressional Research Service report, al-Jazeera is considered a "market competitor" for psychological operations conducted by the United States.⁶⁶ With their 35 million plus viewers, many Arabs can be reached. According to some observers, until the United States finds a way to offset these types of news organizations, American effectiveness in the global media campaign will continue to decline. A robust strategic communications plan is the key, and the Department of Defense is addressing this with a focus on PSYOPS.⁶⁷

⁶³ Glenn E. Robinson, "Hamas as Social Movement," in *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, ed. Quintan Wiktorowicz (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 116.

⁶⁴ Wiktorowicz, "Introduction," in *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, 15.

⁶⁵ Defense Technical Information Center. DoD Dictionary of Military Terms. http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/doddict/data/p/04340.html (Accessed March 1, 2009).

⁶⁶ Clay Wilson, "Information Operations, Electronic Warfare, and Cyberwar: Capabilities and Related Policy Issues," *CRS Report for Congress*, March 20, 2007. 3.

⁶⁷ Wilson, "Information Operations," 3.

PSYOPS, in general, need to take into account the irrationalities of audience perception. For example, Boaz Ganor argues that terror can be considered a strategy of psychological warfare. Although a person is more likely to be injured or killed in a traffic accident than in a terrorist attack, people do not think about probabilities. They think about how bad it would have been had they been at that place at that time. Feelings of helplessness and anxiety produced by the horrific thought of a terrorist attack make these types of operations effective as PSYOPS.⁶⁸ Ganor argues that by giving air time to terrorist organizations, the media lends them credibility and gives weight to "baseless threats." For those who see themselves as potential victims, this can further increase their anxiety level.⁶⁹ For those who identify with the terrorist organizations, it can lend credibility to the cause and may inspire sacrifice and even martyrdom.

D. HIZBULLAH'S USE OF PSYOPS

Hizbullah is explicit about using PSYOPS to influence public opinion. According to Weimann, Hizbullah indicated their intent to use PSYOPS on the al-Manar television Web site, citing a quote from the Web site that read, "Al-Manar is the first Arab establishment to stage an effective psychological warfare against the Zionist enemy." 70

Al-Manar does what it can for others with similar ideologies, such as hatred of Israel. Norton points out that al-Manar aimed propaganda at Palestinian viewers in 2000 and 2001, even as Nasrallah was saying that the Palestinian issue belonged to the Palestinians and the Golan Heights issue belonged to Syria. "Even so, the level of incitement from Hizbullah was very high."

In a similar example of PSYOPS, Hizbullah regularly produces documentarystyle programs depicting the brutal treatment of Palestinians at the hands of Israeli

⁶⁸ Boaz Ganor, "Terror as a Strategy of Psychological Warfare," International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, July 15, 2002. http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/9E0C5EDA-ECAC-4C2C-87DO-F8864D5443EE.htm (Accessed March 1, 2009).

⁶⁹ Ganor, "Terror as a Strategy."

⁷⁰ Weimann, Terror on the Internet, 36.

⁷¹ Norton, Hezbollah, 93.

authorities, thus including the Palestinian struggle as part of its fight. Sometimes graphic torture is included in these programs, according to Schleifer.⁷²

Ajemian suggests that Hizbullah's political goals have evolved over the years into an effort to nationalize itself.⁷³ Hizbullah wanted to appeal to other Lebanese sectarian groups. For example, in the fall of 2000, during the second Palestinian Intifada, Hizbullah used al-Manar to send live coverage of fighting into Arab homes. It worked and, for a time, al-Manar significantly increased its viewership. However, despite such attempts to appeal to Palestinian viewers, al-Manar's Palestinian audience peaked in 2001, dropping to 8 percent in 2003, compared to an audience of 50 percent for al-Jazeera.⁷⁴

In the 2000 conflict, Hizbullah also identified enemy target audiences and the requisite messages. Along with its battlefield performance, determining which message should to go to which audience and following through at the appropriate time enabled Hizbullah to communicate to Israeli decision makers that their best bet was to get out of southern Lebanon sooner rather than later. Hizbullah ultimately convinced the Israeli Army that it was the best move. Eventually, the Israeli public began to feel it was not worth staying, and that there was a great deal to lose by continuing to fight.⁷⁵

Weimann says that terror organizations use continual transmissions of violence, intimidation, and declarations on radio, television, and the Internet to obtain the desired psychological effect of inspiring mass fear. In the 2000 war, al-Manar ran a psychological operations campaign designed to demoralize Israelis with announcements in Hebrew and a video of Israeli casualties with a blank space indicating the vacancy to be filled by the next dead solder.

⁷² Schleifer, "Psychological Operations," 15.

⁷³ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 3.

⁷⁴ Norton, *Hezbollah*, 93.

⁷⁵ Schleifer, "Psychological Operations," 15.

⁷⁶ Weimann, *Terror on the Internet*, 37-38.

⁷⁷ Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 10.

1. Hizbullah's Psychological Operations in News Reporting

Al-Manar television covers the news, then broadcasts the headlines from various newspapers. Foreign political events from Palestine, Iran, Iraq, and the United States are closely followed. As expected, an anti-Israeli bias is prevalent in al-Manar broadcasts. The Iraq war is also followed closely. Clear bias appears in reporting of alleged rapes and torture by Americans, according to Baylouny. In addition, al-Manar reports when American media is reporting the same events. When U.S. troops face threats in Iraq, al-Manar paints that fact in a positive light and is quick to point out mistakes made by the United States. The conditions at Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib prison were unreported and unpunished, according to al-Manar. Other unsavory issues are reported in short segments, including American discrimination against minorities and stories involving countries the United States has invaded in the past. 80

Some individuals will go quite far to misrepresent events, although some do get caught. During the 2006 war, a Reuter's photographer, a Lebanese freelancer, was suspended for using a computer software program to digitally enhance two photographs. He modified one photo of the aftermath of a missile attack to give the appearance of more smoke, and added two flares to a second photo, making it appear as if three missiles had been released from an Israeli jet. He then labeled the flares as missiles in the caption, suggesting the Israelis had engaged in an offensive operation instead of a defensive one.⁸¹

2. Use of Video Tapes in Hizbullah Reporting

Video taping is used regularly by Hizbullah. Operations are routinely taped, with camera operators shadowing units everywhere. Even insignificant operations are highlighted and made to appear important if the group deems it symbolically appropriate.

⁷⁸ Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 11.

⁷⁹ Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 12.

⁸⁰ Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 12.

⁸¹ Donald R. Winslow, "Reuters Apologizes Over Altered Lebanon War Photos; Suspends Photographer," National Press Photographers Association, http://www.nppa.org/news_and_events/news/2006/08/reuters.html (Accessed February 14, 2009).

For example, during a 1994 campaign that was ultimately lost, a Hizbullah unit was able to raise the Hizbullah flag over an Israeli compound. The flag did not stay up long, but a Hizbullah cameraman videotaped the episode, and the footage aired repeatedly, thus seeming to make the flag raising the point of the operation.⁸²

The flag-raising video is first-rate "heroic" footage, and Hizbullah began using this type of straight-from-the-battlefield video to advantage in 1994. Getting good video became the "point" of the battle and fuel for successful psychological operations. The quality of the video images is irrelevant. In fact, grittier video footage, which seems to convey down and dirty resistance on the front line at the grunt level, appears more authentic. Hizbullah uses video to make symbolic points that have gained the group huge advantages. The group has become quite creative and clever in the past two and a half decades with its usage of video, and has reaped huge benefits both militarily and psychologically.⁸³

3. Images and Propaganda

Martyrdom and resistance imagery is used extensively to further Hizbullah's agenda. For example, "The martyrdom of Imam Hussein at Karbala is a reference point around which Hizbullah has framed contemporary issues and events." Shortly after then Hizbullah Secretary General Mussawi was assassinated, Nasrallah used the imagery of Imam Hussein's martyrdom during Mussawi's funeral song, thus drawing a comparison between the two.

A similar parallel was drawn with the death of Imad Mughniyeh. Mughniyeh, now called "The Backbone of the Resistance," was responsible for many military operations in 2000 and 2006.⁸⁵ He was assassinated in February 2008. His picture is shown alongside those of other martyrs. The appeal is based on myth and defiance, and builds on the sacrifice of martyrs. Hizbullah also took advantage of the timing of Mughniyeh's death. The traditional Islamic Resistance Week holiday, when the group

⁸² Schleifer, "Psychological Operations," 6.

⁸³ Schleifer, "Psychological Operations," 6.

⁸⁴ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 5.

⁸⁵ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 6.

mourns past leaders, is held in February, and February 16 was supposed to be the day to commemorate past assassinations. The commemoration day was moved to February 22, 2008, in honor of Mughniyeh, thus cementing the imagery of his martyrdom. Mughniyeh was assassinated by a car bomb in Damascus on February 12, and though the perpetrators have never been discovered Hizbullah blames Israel.

Adding to the emotionalism of the event, al-Manar used images of Mughniyeh's purported son, Jihad, wearing military gear and addressing Nasrallah with words such as, "... I say to my father of the martyrs, his eminence the Secretary General of Hizbullah, we are with you, we are your children, as all children of the martyrs we go along with you where ever you go" This "resistance" video appears later in other propaganda.⁸⁷

Videos displaying resistance are meant to move the audience into action. These videos garner support, be it giving money, voting for a particular candidate, joining the cause, or being one of the many who now feels Hizbullah is an important part of the Lebanese political structure. Martyrdom is the other strong motivating frame that is widely utilized in these videos.

4. Al-Manar Videos on the Internet

Music can make a mood. Color can create an atmosphere. Images can create vibes, good or bad. A good editor can take images, music, color, and narration and put together something that will inspire. Ajemian writes:

Al-Manar has become quite adept at putting together commemorative clips with appropriate music and narrations to evoke the feelings that they want to further their agenda and to gain sympathy. The integration of past and present events and themes with the video/music/narrator presentations are successfully used to 'reinforce the group's greater narrative of resistance.'88

In "Hizbullah's Virtual Civil Society," Dallal writes, "Hizbullah's internet exploits amount to a new kind of media performance, one that does not and cannot aspire

⁸⁶ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 7.

⁸⁷ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 7.

⁸⁸ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 9.

to the terms of conventional communication."⁸⁹ As an example of framing on a Web site, Al Moqawama—Hizbullah—Lebanon—Al Mashriq showed video clips of "Al Moqawama Actions in South Lebanon." The grainy videos are clearly violent, presumably showing what insurgents did in the "fight," and I was able to view the types of videos Ajemian discussed in his article. Just as he said, those images were accompanied by patriotic music meant to provoke patriotic feelings in the target audience.⁹⁰ The narration was in Arabic, and appeared to employ nostalgic themes of pan-Arabism or revisionism that would likely move both Shi'a and Arab audiences.

Writing on the topic of music videos, Ajemian says, "The true cornerstone of Hizbullah's media strategy is content which frames political violence within a narrative that has currency with both domestic and regional audiences—that of resistance. . . . Hizbullah has capitalized on political violence to advance its political and military goals." On a pro-Israeli Web site, Richard H. Shulman writes of Hizbullah television that propagandistic "music video fillers played between programs" seem designed to incite suicide bombings. 92

In a general assessment, Dallal writes:

Hizbullah has developed transnational media forms that do not conform to nor are in dialogue with dominant global cultural forms. Its virtual performance space interrupts not only national boundaries but also assumed fault lines of ideological, cultural, and political affiliations. ⁹³

5. Al-Manar on Television

Baylouny lists specific frames she found in her research on al-Manar television. The frames include the Palestinian issue, Lebanese solidarity, American views on the Arab/Israeli issue, and Arab pride and resistance. While virtually all Palestinian Muslims are Sunni, Hizbullah recruits and uses Palestinians to increase their numbers against Amal, the other major Lebanese Shi'a party. This increases Hizbullah's support base,

⁸⁹ Dallal. "Hizballah's Virtual Civil Society," 369-370.

⁹⁰ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 1.

⁹¹ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 3.

⁹² Richard H. Shulman, "Hizbullah TV," Think-Israel, http://www.think-israel.org/shulman.almanar.html (Accessed September 10, 2008).

⁹³ Dallal, "Virtual Civil Society," 370.

which now includes both Shi'a and Sunnis. The combined Hizbullah support base, along with Hizbullah's tenacious efforts to change the image of the Shi'a, feeds into Lebanese solidarity, as evidenced by increased Sunni acceptance of Shi'a. 94

Spots and materials aired during programming breaks tend to illustrate resistance, specifically against Israel, as expected, but also against the United States, because of American support for Israel. Al-Manar has a wide range of programming and does not limit itself to portraying Hizbullah interests; most programming is "generally unbiased." 95

A recent examination of the al-Manar Web site reveals a variety of programs available on al-Manar television. Titles (translated into English) include: *Talk of the Hour*, an interview program; *What's Next*, a panel talk show; *Between ()*, a discussion program; *Our Colorful Pages*; *Good Morning*, featuring live and recorded segments on life, culture, art, and nutrition; *Nuts and Sugar*, a children's program with puppets, skits, and interaction; *This is Palestine*, addressing Palestinian people; *The Religious Law in Life*, answering religious questions in light of Islamic law; *The Agenda*, featuring discussions of political, cultural, and Arab world issues; and *Problem and View*, dealing with real-life problems.

I was unable to locate al-Manar television broadcasts in English. However, one particular call-in program appeared to be pure propaganda. An English statement identified it as a live broadcast. The program featured pictures of destruction, fighting, shooting, demonstrations, people in distress, crying women, injured children, and death. At one point, a female caller was crying and in obvious distress, and then the connection was interrupted. The anchorwoman kept trying to see if the other woman was still on the line, but then there were sounds of a disconnected phone. The newswoman repeated "hello, hello" as if trying to reestablish contact with the caller, but before it became evident that the connection had been broken. During the program, pictures of Nasrallah were displayed and patriotic music was played. Another caller was an angry, shouting man.

⁹⁴ Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 4.

⁹⁵ Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 9.

E. SPECIFIC FRAMES

Investigation of various Web sites in English and Arabic, as well as reports of the content of al-Manar television broadcasts, reveal a particular set of recurrent frames. Al-Manar repeats "bumper sticker" messages of resistance, martyrdom, Lebanese solidarity, Arab pride, Israelis and Americans as enemies of Arabs, and defiance and sacrifice.

1. Resistance

Resistance is the most prevalent frame found on the various Web sites and in the various news items investigated, both in Arabic and English versions. The fact is that Hizbullah has built a society of resistance with people participating at the community level, the grassroots level where true belief and support begins. It is built upon using other frames such as martyrdom, along with symbolism, thus allowing Hizbullah's constituents to "feel" a part of the group and a part of the resistance movement. It is a "participatory" method of growing the movement. In this regard, the Shi'a actually transformed themselves toward action, via "justice, solidarity, community, sacrifice, progress . . ." resulting in a renewed "sense of pride." 96

The videos al-Manar broadcasts are designed to move people emotionally enough to induce them into action. They have worked. Proof is the support given to Hizbullah. Using a blend of contemporary images and events with historical images and events, and combining those with patriotic music and poignant narration can go a long way toward delivering a message to a receptive audience. The addition of a leader who is associated with resistance and who has been martyred adds fuel to the fire. Additionally, Mughniyeh's death was used in the traditional Islamic Resistance Week holiday. The date was changed, making the event even more significant.

Hizbullah's Secretary General Nasrallah has the ability to garner support and did so most recently on Martyrs Day. At a time when Hizbullah had lost some ground due to political maneuvering, the group had all but recovered by the end of 2008. In January 2009, Nasrallah took advantage of Martyrs Day, by addressing all Lebanese

⁹⁶ Harb and Leenders, "Know Thy Enemy," 189-191.

people, not just the Shi'a. He also let Lebanese youth know that resistance belongs to all of them and that they, "undertake their actions in complete self-awareness, without coercions and free of any mental imbalance." ⁹⁷

2. Martyrdom

The second most prevalent frame Hizbullah uses is that of martyrdom. Hizbullah makes use of martyrdom in news and in videos as an inspirational tool. This is where patriotic music, photos, video, and speeches can be used collectively to form a particular feeling in the listener. That feeling can sway the listener into action. Anyone killed in action, or dying as a result of conflict, is labeled a martyr. They have died for the cause and are now heroes and thus placed on pedestals. This particular frame can be a strong motivator toward action, especially if the victim is a family member or close associate.

The martyrdom frame is used a great deal and with the death of Mughniyeh there was a new person to use in that capacity. Mughniyeh and resistance go hand in hand, so his death and ensuing funeral provided a great deal many images that could be and, in fact, were utilized to the fullest extent. Video purported to be of Mughniyeh's son was also used for framing. In one particular video, Mughniyeh is described as a "leader of every martyr," and "among the greatest of men."98

In Nasrallah's Martyr's Day address in 2009, he included a term that translates into "voluntary martyrdom" or what we would term "suicide bombing." This is a display of how Nasrallah is able to take a historical issue such as martyrdom and put a contemporary tactic on it. 100

In news articles that were utilized for comparison purposes for this thesis, al-Manar continually characterized those killed as martyrs. Their deaths were often described as being totally senseless, as these people were innocents, not soldiers, and

⁹⁷ David Wilmsen, "Nasrallah and the Compromise and Rehabilitations of Hizbullah's Reputation," *Arab Media & Society*, January 2009, 9.

⁹⁸ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 5.

⁹⁹ David Wilmsen, "Hizbullah's Reputation," 9.

¹⁰⁰ David Wilmsen, "Hizbullah's Reputation," 9.

were simply minding their own business, just simply living day-to-day. Descriptive words of what the Israelis had done, also often accompanied body counts, make the articles even more graphic in nature.

3. Lebanese Solidarity and Arab Pride

The July 2006 War was considered a victory for Arabs, and al-Manar took advantage of this by reaching out for a larger Arab audience. Al-Manar put together a media campaign as an "Arab victory," combining well-known patriotic music with images of Hizbullah fighters and Arab nationalism. For example, music recorded by a popular Egyptian musician in the 1960s was combined with footage of soldiers in the fight that "harkens back to the days of Egyptian-led Pan Arabism." This move of framing the conflict as an Arab victory proved to be a highly successful media campaign that garnered positive attention and support beyond the Shi'a.

In another example, al-Manar produced a video using the anthem, "God is Great," and included video of resistance fighters in action, injured Israelis being taken from the battlefield, and finally a speech by Nasrallah. The effect is another "pivotal moment in Hezbullah's history into a greater historical narrative of Arab resistance." One Palestinian writer called the media campaign something that "resonated throughout the region" and "spoke to a collective Arab sentiment and memory, and intensified Arab conviction in the belief that Lebanon represented the 'first line of defense' of a common nation against a common enemy." ¹⁰³

The issue of Palestine has been a unifying factor for the Lebanese people, and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict had been a focus of Hizbullah for some time. While the Palestinians are Sunni for the most part, the issue comes from their location. The refugee population tends to side with the Shi'a, and this is an opportunity for Hizbullah to increase its base. In addition, the Palestine/Jerusalem issue is important to not only Shi'a and Palestinians, but also the Sunni, making Hizbullah much more of an accepted entity

¹⁰¹ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 10.

¹⁰² Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 11.

¹⁰³ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 11.

by the Lebanese as a whole. This continues across religious lines as well, since even Lebanese Christians feel the loss of Palestine. 104

4. Israelis and Americans are the Enemy

This frame is evident throughout the news and blatant in Nasrallah's speeches, though it must be noted here that Hizbullah's leaders have stated that it is not the U.S. people who are disliked. Hizbullah has an issue with the U.S. government. For example, in a speech Nasrallah gave on August 3, 2006, he said, "The American administration would bear the responsibility for the slaughter and destruction occurring now, and that Israel was nothing more than a tool to achieve that." Nasrallah also pointed out that the Israelis had not accomplished anything in the field and that was because of the courage of the people and in their resistance. ¹⁰⁶

While some in Hizbullah leadership position say it is the U.S. government, it was Nasrallah who told a group of supporters in Beirut in 2003, "Our slogan is and remains death to America." ¹⁰⁷

Hizbullah's PSYOPS are aimed toward Israel and that is where a great deal of the videotaping in the field becomes significant. As previously mentioned, the 1994 event in which a Hizbullah military unit raised a Hizbullah flag over an Israeli compound became an almost instant success, because that piece of footage was used over and over again to an audience that was hungry for victory and looking for something positive. The fact that the flag didn't stay up at the Israeli compound did not matter. It was raised, the event was taped, and the tape played to a Lebanese audience where they could see "resistance" and they could witness a "win" over the Israelis. This type of videotaping in the field, no

¹⁰⁴ Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 6-7.

¹⁰⁵ Harb and Leenders, "Know Thy Enemy," 182.

¹⁰⁶ "Summaries of Speeches by Nasrallah during the Sixth War: Speech Five," Al-Jazeera, August 7, 2006, http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/B62CE665-873A-4D3D-A30C-E48C92D3B7E8.htm (Accessed February 17, 2009).

¹⁰⁷ Harb and Leenders, "Know Thy Enemy," 176.

¹⁰⁸ Schleifer, "Psychological Operations," 6.

matter the original intent of the battle, became the point, especially if it yielded video that provided symbolic footage that could be used to Hizbullah's advantage in its framing and its PSYOPS.

Their dislike of the United States shows in Hizbullah's distrust of the Siniora government, which had power until May 2008. The government was seen as a "tool" of the United States by Hizbullah.¹⁰⁹ As proof, Hizbullah pointed to a quote by then President Bush who praised Prime Minister Siniora for not giving in to Hizbullah's demands, a quote the Hizbullah leadership found "condescending."¹¹⁰

In terms of Web sites, some of the most graphic illustrations in which Israelis are vilified can be difficult to locate now, but as Dallal points out, an early version of a Hizbullah site had one particular depiction of Israeli soldiers carrying a decapitated child who had reportedly been the victim of an air raid by the Israelis. As is shown in Chapter IV, news articles still accuse the Israelis of atrocities, and continue to show the Israelis in the worst way.

5. Defiance and Sacrifice

Defiance and sacrifice can be considered extensions of resistance and martyrdom, respectively, but have subtle differences. In terms of defiance, Hizbullah uses its commemorative videos; for example, the above-mentioned videos of Mughniyeh. Sacrifice is not necessarily the ultimate sacrifice of death, and thus cannot be considered martyrdom, but people have and do make sacrifices for the movement. While these two frames are not as prevalent, they are interwoven with and among other frames utilized by Hizbullah.

Defiance is in terms of the defiance of oppression and sacrifice comes from those who participate in the struggle against oppression. These two frames come from the Shia's interpretation of the death of Imam Hussein Ibn Ali, according to Ajemian. In Karbala in 680 AD, Hussein made a choice to struggle against oppression, where he

¹⁰⁹ Amal Saad-Ghorayeb, "In Their Own Words: Hizbollah's Strategy in the Current Confrontation," *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, January 2007, 7.

¹¹⁰ Amal Saad-Ghorayeb, "In Their Own Words," 7-8.

¹¹¹ Dallal, "Virtual Civil Society," 368.

ultimately resisted and died instead of submitting to the demands of the Ummayad Caliphate. Hussein lost his family and friends in the endeavor. It is this kind of sacrifice that embodies those martyred at Karbala, and anyone following that path is on a "symbolic struggle for justice against oppression."

F. CONCLUSION

Hizbullah takes advantage of al-Manar's television and Web site capability and utilizes both media to capacity, filling them with frames that provide the appropriate target message to the target audience at the appropriate time. These frames are designed to move the audience toward action, and the frames are successful. Additionally, the presentation of the frames further enhances their effectiveness.

In terms of successful PSYOPS, there is a required awareness and responsiveness to specific target audiences, especially when the messages are intended to inspire people to great sacrifice for their country, religion, or basic beliefs. In Chapter IV, the cultural frames used by al-Manar are compared with those of the dominant Arab media, al-Jazeera.

¹¹² Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 4-5.

¹¹³ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 5.

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IV. A COMPARISON OF AL-MANAR AND AL-JAZEERA

A. INTRODUCTION

This chapter compares and contrasts al-Manar and al-Jazeera news articles posted on their respective Web sites, as well as a few other items. Web site sources are the basis for this analysis because they are archived, and thus readily available and retrievable. As expected, these two media are starkly different in their tone and in their framing. Al-Manar is much more focused on its immediate audience and uses specific frames toward its audience to illicit an expected response. Al-Jazeera's framing is much more mainstream, less radical, and is what would be expected of a credible news organization.

B. METHODOLOGY

Two periods are analyzed: the July 2006 war in Lebanon and the 2008-2009 Israel-Gaza conflict. The news stories written by employees of al-Manar and al-Jazeera in those periods are reviewed. News stories in which outside agency information augments al-Manar and al-Jazeera reports are utilized, but not articles or reports that originated with international news agencies. One article by al-Safeer, posted on the al-Manar Web site, proved similar in style and framing to that of al-Manar; that report is included.

To evaluate the articles in terms of framing, a search was done for specific key words and phrases in each article. Each article's overall tone or attitude is also evaluated. Al-Manar's articles of 2006 are compared to later articles and the same is done with al-Jazeera. A comparison between al-Manar and al-Jazeera during each time period is also presented.

The Arabic versions of the sites are used, with all articles translated into English to ensure that the Arabic framing from each site is clear. The objective is to determine what Hizbullah and al-Jazeera communicate to their Arabic-speaking audiences.

Research shows that the English version of the al-Manar Web site employs an entirely different frame. For example, when Hizbullah Secretary General Nasrallah addressed the Lebanese people to commemorate important Lebanese martyrs and heroes,

al-Manar ran articles on February 16, 2009 in both Arabic and English. The Arabic version states that Nasrallah neither confirms nor denies that the resistance has obtained air defense. The English version is not a translation of the Arabic version, but a totally different article. The first sentence alone shows the importance of framing. The English version begins with Nasrallah's declaration that the Islamic Resistance "has the full right to possess all kinds of weaponry, including antiaircraft weapons, emphasizing that the Resistance has the courage to use such weapons." The article for the Lebanese audience is entirely different, though both share framings in terms of martyrdom and resistance. Because of these differences, using the Arabic versions of the sites is both appropriate and necessary for determining the framing used by al-Manar and al-Jazeera to reach their Arabic-speaking audiences.

C. WAR IN LEBANON, JULY 2006

The July 2006 conflict between Hizbullah and Israel reportedly began when Hizbullah forces abducted two Israelis and killed three others. ¹¹⁶ The conflict began on July 12 and ended with a ceasefire brokered by the United Nations on August 14. The confrontation ended when Israel lifted its naval blockade in September 2008. The actual conflict lasted 34 days.

Initially, al-Manar's news was not available on its Web site, presumably because its headquarters building was bombed early on. Al-Manar did manage to continue broadcasting with relatively few disruptions.¹¹⁷

The first news article written by an al-Manar reporter during the conflict period is dated August 3. The reporter's vocabulary expresses resistance first and foremost. The

¹¹⁴ Hussein Assi, "Resistance Has Right to Possess and Use Anti-Aircraft Weapons," *Al-Manar*, February 16, 2009. http://www.almanar.com.lb/newssite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=74274&searchTest=Airdefense&language=en (Accessed March 1, 2009).

¹¹⁵ Mohammed Abdullah, "Mr Nasrallah Neither Confirms Nor Denies That the Resistance Has Obtained Air Defence" *Al-Manar*, February 16, 2009, trans. Kenneth W. White. http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=74169 (Accessed March 1, 2009).

¹¹⁶ Barbara Starr, John Vause, and Anthony Mills, "Israeli Warplanes Hit Beirut Suburb," *CNN.com*, July 14, 2006, http://www.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/meast/07/13/mideast/index.html (Accessed March 1, 2009).

¹¹⁷ Allyn Fisher-Ilam, "Hizbollah Rockets Hit Haifa, Israel Strikes Lebanon," *Agence France-Presse*, July 16, 2006.

term "Zionist invaders" is used to describe the Israelis on Lebanese land. Hizbullah uses the term Zionist to avoid using the term Israel or Israeli. It is another way Hizbullah delegitimizes Israel. It also regularly used the term "enemy." "Pride" is another frame found throughout article. Additionally, the term "resistance" is supplemented by replacement terms like "standing against the force." Standing ground against "elite" forces is lauded as well.¹¹⁸

In a second example, resistance is successfully used against a ship characterized as "one of the most effective boats in the world." Still, the ship was bested by the resistance. The article reports that this is the third time since the "Zionist assault" that the resistance took out an Israeli boat. The article includes mention of "harsh blows" by resistance against the Israeli forces. 119

One al-Manar article points to all-around success for Hizbullah. It lists stellar performances by resistance forces, including continued destruction of enemy ships and the continued failure of the invading army. In another "win" for the group, the resistance made the enemy "retreat" from an announced goal of ejecting Hizbullah and disarming the group within two weeks. The article reports that the resistance and its leadership continue to "control and govern from its heart thorough all field conditions." 120

In an article dated August 14, several quotes illustrate the resolve of various individuals. One person is quoted saying, "The more they strike us and the more destruction we see, the harder we will cling to our land and fight back to the last breath

^{118 &}quot;The Men of the Islamic Resistance are Recording Heroic Battles in Confronting the Military Elite Forces," *Al-Manar*, August 3, 2006, trans. Kenneth W. White. http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=611 (Accessed February 16. 2009).

^{119 &}quot;The Islamic Resistance Announces the Destruction of a Zionist 'Super Dvora' Warship Off the Coast of the City of Tyre and the Death and Injuring of the Crew of Twelve," *Al-Manar*, August 12, 2006, trans. Kenneth W. White. http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=1128 (Accessed February 16, 2009).

¹²⁰ Fuwad Nur Al-Din, "The Outstanding Operational Tactic Of The Resistance Stumps The Israeli Military Experts, Following Hezbollah's Success In Confronting The Israeli Technological Superiority and Equipment." *Al-Manar*, August 13, 2006, trans. Kenneth W. White. http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=1123 (Accessed February 16, 2006).

and the last child." This is one of several quotes conveying the message of resistance. The article ends with the line "[The] inhabitants confirm that they will resist, resist 'til glory and victory." ¹²¹

In the one al-Manar article produced by al-Safeer, framing was similar. America is blamed for the Lebanon war and is criticized for the "attempt to place France in a bad situation, causing it to lose its special prestige in Lebanon." This is put into the context of revenge for France's stance against the Iraq war. America's fault in the war is illustrated by a statement from Assistant Secretary of State David Welch that the United States will reject their "resistance" principle. The article says that Welch was never an "envoy of peace," and that the U.S. decision to send Welch is a message to Israel to "extend the war" against Lebanon and its people. The writer calls this a "foolish gamble" and uses language much like the rest, framing the situation in terms like the "glory of defiance," and "courageous resistance," Lebanon's "legendary resistance" and the defiance of heroic warriors. 123

The al-Jazeera articles selected for examination are quite different in tone and framing. They are much more neutral and mainstream, less likely to elicit a strong response one way or another. The articles, for the most part, appear closer to the straight news stories one would find on CNN or other regular American news Web sites.

Al-Jazeera offers up a clearly written piece on July 25, 2006, discussing Lebanese waters as an underpinning of the Israeli strategy. The article states that Israel's water gap, and its ever increasing need for water, mean that security is not the only reason Israel wants control of the region.¹²⁴ The article presents Israel's ambitions as dating from before the State of Israel was established, with several historical situations to support the

¹²¹ Youssef Shaitoo, "The People of Southern Al-Dahiya Expressed Their Shock But They Have Proven That Neither The Destruction Nor The Intimidation Have Shaken Their Resolve and Support For The Victorious Resistance," *Al-Manar*, August 14, 2006, trans. Kenneth W. White. http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=1262 (Accessed February 16, 2009).

¹²² Talal Sulman, "By The Way: What Israel Didn't Consider To Be A War, Washington Won't Consider To Be Terrorism!" *Al-Manar*, August 5, 2006, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=758 (Accessed February 16, 2009).

¹²³ Sulman, "Washington Won't Consider."

¹²⁴ Mohammed Abd Al-'Atti, "Israel and the Waters of Lebanon," *Al-Jazeera*, July 25, 2006, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/75E62B75-E90E-4169-92E3-A78690B7D531.htm (Accessed February 25, 2009).

argument. For example, Israel invaded Lebanon in 1978 and installed equipment to move water from various rivers into northern Israel. In 2002, Israel threatened to attack when Lebanon began a project to divert water to south Lebanon. The report does not contain derogatory comments or blatant frames, and is well constructed, conveying an apparently valid argument.

In an al-Jazeera report of August 4, the reporting is straightforward, much like one would see in any American newspaper. The article describes where air raids took place, what buildings were targeted, who had made comments and what they had said. The Israelis are called the "occupation forces," but no "Zionist" rhetoric is present in this particular article, unlike the al-Manar examples. When the Israeli forces had to retreat due to Hizbullah action, the reporting is again straightforward. A mild version of the "resistance" frame appears in the final two paragraphs of the article with a statement that the Israeli army encountered fierce resistance by Hizbullah fighters. The final paragraph reports that Hizbullah fired rockets into northern Israel in response to the fighting. 125

An al-Jazeera article from August 5, with information from other agencies, contains a little more framing, although it is subtle. Hizbullah's forces are called the "Islamic Resistance," and while Israel was not called anything much worse than the "occupation forces," its actions are labeled as "massacres of civilians" and "slaughters." Additionally, the article points out that many of those killed had just finished lunch and were loading trucks with fruit for local delivery. It paints a picture of people minding their own business and being killed out of the blue. The article also quotes an Associated Press report of 57 people "buried in the rubble" in two towns. To the reporter's credit, conflicting casualty counts are also reported. 126

Another article by al-Jazeera in combination with other agencies has very little framing, containing straight news reports of battles, casualties, and towns affected.

^{125 &}quot;Israel Bombs Bridges North of Beirut; Intensification of the Battles in the South," *Al-Jazeera*, August 4, 2006, trans. Kenneth W. White. http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/EC084303-49E4-4458-91E0-AFAFA8DD5290.htm (Accessed February 25, 2009).

^{126 &}quot;The Missiles Get Close to Tel Aviv and Israel Commits New Massacres," *Al-Jazeera*, August 5, 2006, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.aljazeera.net/News/archive/archive?ArchiveID=334513 (Accessed March 1, 2009).

Various perspectives are represented, Hizbullah's as well as the Israeli forces'. Numbers of people killed and the numbers of homes destroyed are recounted. The worst term mentioned is "aggression." ¹²⁷

The al-Jazeera article dated August 17 reports on the al-Dahiya destruction in southern Beirut. In the al-Manar article on the same incident, the entire article consists of quotes by citizens conveying messages of resistance. In the al-Jazeera article, resistance is also a dominant frame. Another message is massacre. Perhaps the most important part of the article is the specific mention of al-Manar and its own example of resistance. Al-Manar refused to stop broadcasting even during the "aggression." They were knocked of the air, but began transmitting again, "from beneath heaps of [rubble]." Equipment was set up and interviews conducted at the plaza. Additionally, two of al-Manar's personnel, an announcer and a preparer, became field correspondents, because "the message of al-Manar is the message of the resistance and therefore the location doesn't matter," according to the report. This is one of the rare exceptions among the al-Jazeera articles, with more framing and a much stronger message of destruction and horror. With what I have seen thus far of al-Jazeera's reporting, this implies, first of all, that the situation was quite nasty, and secondly, the al-Jazeera reporter exhibits respect toward the al-Manar duo who continued to broadcast despite all the destruction around them.

In 2008, al-Manar published an analytical piece about the July 2006 War. It had all the same characteristics of the earlier articles. The Israelis are called the Zionist army, and Israel's weakness and lack of readiness are pointed out. Lebanese pride resounds throughout the article as well. In a verbal jab at the Israelis, one sentence on the destruction of Israeli Merkava tanks reads, "the 'Pride of the Israeli industry' was destroyed and lost its fearsome reputation." This can go a long way toward increasing

¹²⁷ "Four Israeli Soldiers Dead, and Hezbollah Repels an Attack in the South," *Al-Jazeera*, August 9, 2008, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.aljazeera.net/News/archive/archive?ArchiveId=334892 (Accessed March 1, 2009).

¹²⁸ Ali Gamdhan, "Southern Al-Dahiya: A Story of Destruction and Hope and Resistance," Al-Jazeera, August 17, 2006, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/9E0C5EDA-ECAC-4C2C-87DO-F8864D5443EE.htm (Accessed March 1, 2009).

^{129 &}quot;The July Aggression: The Enemy Loses the Field and the Respect of the Army and the Media," *Al-Manar*, August 15, 2008, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=53526&language=ar (Accessed March 1, 2009).

Hizbullah's stature, as it is another "win" for the group. The perception is that the deterrence capacity of the Israelis is gone. The weakness of Israeli strategy is discussed, as is lack of confidence in Israeli leadership. The Israelis "faltered before the military and psychological war of the Islamic resistance." 130 The article discusses Nasrallah's eight speeches, stating that the "Zionist base believed the works of Mr. Nasrallah more than the President of their government, Ehud Olmert."131 Resistance and martyrdom are also included in the article, thus showing Lebanese strength. The article claims that the Zionists weaken with the fall of each soldier. Al-Manar's ability to continue broadcasting after its main building was destroyed and its ability to carry the "realities of the resistance's superiority," are also reported in the article. The final jab is against the United States. The article states that the Zionist enemy was forced to attack by the American administration.¹³² There may be *some* truth to that particular allegation, as an in-depth report by Seymour Hersh appeared The New Yorker in which Hersh wrote about the situation. While Israel was planning an attack, this particular attack was planned and executed rather quickly—more quickly than usual, according to one Mossad official who has more than 20 years of experience. Apparently, both President Bush and Vice President Cheney were on board with having Israel use a boarder skirmish as an excuse to destroy Hizbullah, and use lessons learned toward any plans in dealing with Iran. 133

D. GAZA CONFLICT 2008-2009

The campaign in Gaza had been ongoing in spurts, beginning on November 4, 2008, when Israeli troops killed six Hamas gunmen. The target of the Israeli raid was a tunnel reportedly to be used to kidnap Israeli soldiers by the gunmen. An Israeli spokesman said there was no intention of suspending the ceasefire, and that the operation was meant only to remove an immediate threat. Nevertheless, this began a back

^{130 &}quot;The July Aggression."

^{131 &}quot;The July Aggression."

^{132 &}quot;The July Aggression."

¹³³ Seymour M. Hersh, "Watching Lebanon—Washington's Interests in Israel's War," *The New Yorker*, August 21, 2006.

and forth series of attacks between the two sides.¹³⁴ The six-month truce expired on December 19, 2008, and the conflict began days later, on December 27. Although this campaign did not occur in Lebanon, it elicited a definite response from both al-Manar and al-Jazeera.

On the day the bombing began, al-Manar published two articles. In the first, the question is asked whether the Israelis had a "green light" for the attack from the Arabs and the international community. The article suggests that the "Zionists" had at least the "disregard" of the Arab and international community, because otherwise the attacks would not have been as "bold." The anti-Israeli framing continued with name calling, including "Zionist Foreign Minister" and "President of the enemy state."

The second article includes "Zionist" rhetoric and adds resistance and martyrdom framing to a report about the enemy's "slaughter" of 210 people. The article is focused on those killed or injured as a result of the continuing Israeli air raids. 136

A few days later, on December 31, using statements from Hamas representatives, another al-Manar article makes it clear that an Israel invasion would be foolish. A Hamas representative states, "We are ready for all the choices and we will fight to the last breath." The article reports talk of a truce, including conversations between a Russian Foreign Minister and a Hamas representative, and states that Hamas would study any truce proposals. However, any truce would have to mean equal rights and all blockades must be removed. The spokesman made it clear that the "Zionist enemy" started the

¹³⁴ Rory McCarthy, "Gaza Truce Broken as Israeli Raid Kills Six Hamas Gunmen," *The Guardian*, November, 5, 2006, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/nov/05/israelandthepalestinians (Accessed March 31, 2009).

¹³⁵ Ahmed Omar, "Was An Arab and International "Green Light" Given to Cover the Gaza Attack?" *Al-Manar*, December 27, 2008, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=68395 (Accessed February 16, 2009).

^{136 &}quot;The Zionist Enemy's Slaughter: 210 Martyrs and Hundreds Injured," *Al-Manar*, December 27, 2008, trans. Kenneth W. White. http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=68371 (Accessed February 16, 2009).

^{137 &}quot;Hamas will fight to the last breath against any land attack," *Al-Manar*, December 31, 2008, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=68718 (Accessed February 16, 2009).

conflict, and if the blockade and aggression continue, a truce would be basically meaningless. While the article contains a great deal of straight news, framing and rhetoric are evident.¹³⁸

Al-Manar's next article specifically addresses the Palestinian resistance and its continued pummeling of the "Zionist settlements." The article discusses Hamas missile attacks against specific areas, sometimes naming the sites, but calling the towns either "occupied" cities (e.g. "the occupied city of Ashkelon,") or "settlements" as another way of delegitimizing Israel's presence in the area. Another section discusses Israel's dropping leaflets over eastern Gaza to solicit information about where the missiles were being fired from. The leaflets were not much help in locating the culprits, and missiles continued to hit the Israeli settlements. The article has a mocking tone, ending with comments that notwithstanding Israelis planes, ships, and forces ready to strike at Gaza, the "enemy" had to deal with all the missiles sent by Hizbullah. 140

The final al-Manar article, published after the ceasefire announcement, uses the usual frames. The article calls the conflict a "failed hostile and brutal war during which people resisted despite the massacres and the siege and the resistance fought back." ¹⁴¹ The resistance frame is woven throughout the article, as is the martyrdom frame. A high body count is reported in the text. The Arab pride frame is present too, quoting banners saying, "The [Hamas] movement congratulates our people for their bold victory." ¹⁴²

Again, the al-Jazeera articles prove much more temperate in terms of framing, but though more subtle, framing is still present. The first article examined is a compilation of information by the al-Jazeera reporter, so one might argue that the framing comes with his choice of information. For example, the Sudanese president criticized the Israeli "massacre" and Egypt directly blamed the Israeli military for the death and injuries,

^{138 &}quot;Hamas will fight to the last breath against any land attack."

^{139 &}quot;The Resistance Continues Firing Missiles For the Seventh Day in a Row," *Al-Manar*, January 2, 2009, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=68914 (Accessed March 1, 2009).

¹⁴⁰ "The Resistance Continues Firing Missiles."

¹⁴¹ Ahmad Shaeetu, "The View of the Strip after the Cease-Fire," *Al-Manar*, January 18, 2009, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=70705 (Accessed February 16, 2009).

^{142 &}quot;The View of the Strip after the Cease-Fire."

telling al-Jazeera that the government and the people of Egypt "reject and condemn this unprecedented slaughter." ¹⁴³ In addition, Hizbullah's director of foreign relations stated that resistance is the best defense for the Palestinian people. The number of people martyred and injured is also listed. ¹⁴⁴ This article is among the closest to al-Manar-type reporting of all the al-Jazeera articles examined for this study.

An opinion piece written by Jordanian Prince Hasan bin Talal was posted on al-Jazeera on December 28, 2008. Prince bin Talal is the uncle of King Abdullah II of Jordan, and the Honorary Head of the World Conference of Religions for Peace. As with most of the al-Jazeera pieces, the article does not contain a great deal of framing. He calls for the immediate cessation of "this unwarranted violence." He writes that excessive force and a long siege would not be a deterrent. The piece has a tone of sadness. One particular paragraph appears to lay blame equally:

If we believe in apportioning the damage between both parties of the equation, the Palestinians and the Israelis, then that applies to each faction and each group within each party, and the losses are distributed amongst all and no one is immune to their pain.¹⁴⁶

It must be acknowledged that the previous article was written early in the conflict, and as death and injuries increased, so did the criticism of the Israelis.

Another al-Jazeera article uses a Lebanese military expert's analysis of Israel's next move. It includes some basic frames: resistance, the failure of Israel to achieve particular goals, and the prediction that Israel would likely reduce its goals. There is no

^{143 &}quot;Arab Condemnation and Calls for an Emergency Summit After the Attack on Gaza," *Al-Jazeera*, December 27, 2008, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/A4668525-4667-4C03-A82D-64E0E28A2864.htm (Accessed February 16, 2009).

^{144 &}quot;Arab Condemnation."

¹⁴⁵ Prince Hasan bin Talal, "The Events of Gaza—A Blow to Humanity," *Al-Jazeera*, December 28, 2008, Trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/F1D4FC23-DDAD-4BDB-BD97-6254F9DF2753.htm (Accessed February 16, 2009).

¹⁴⁶ Bin Talal, "The Events of Gaza."

rhetoric and the arguments in the article have a great deal of merit. The expert repeats that the following 48 hours will be crucial, as that is when Israel will decide what to do next.¹⁴⁷

An unnamed Palestinian writer contributed a January 3 al-Jazeera report listing the causes of the attack on Gaza. The article contains al-Manar-styled framing and rhetoric, but the author also blames the Palestinian authority and Arab regimes for trying to tear down Hamas. He identifies Hamas as an Islamic resistance movement. The author states that the control of Gaza by Hamas is another reason for the attack and an "embarrassment to the Palestinian Authority." He writes,

Preserving the contorted Arab regimes which the West calls moderate is an inseparable part of the American-Israeli strategy now; this is because they are tools that facilitate making the Arabs their instruments and keeping them simple-minded.¹⁴⁸

This quote is an example of an anti-Israel frame with U.S. government involvement. While the quote can be construed as a legitimate argument in terms of the United States' support of Israel, it suggests that the United States intends to control other Arab governments, and thus their policies. The term "simple minded" insinuates the United States is keeping Arab allies uninformed. In addition, the article addresses timing of the war and refers to external events, such as the U.S. elections, noting that Israel may have preferred to have the war before the "Father of Wars left the White House." While the author states the conflict was expected, he calls the Arab regimes the "weak link" that would ultimately force Israel to shorten the conflict and thus not reach its goals.

The final al-Jazeera article under review is a report about a Hamas resistance fighter who died because he did not get timely medical treatment. The fighter bled for five hours. Unfortunately, he was not the only one. The martyrdom frame is used in this article. According to the article, the wounded were neither cared for nor were Palestinian

^{147 &}quot;Military Expert: Continuation of the Missile Bombardment Means Israel's Failure," *Al-Jazeera*, December 31, 2008, Trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/1859AA6A-E21F-48D9-A87A-FEB0E9DC2CD1B.htm (Accessed February 25, 2009).

¹⁴⁸ "The Causes of the Attack on Gaza," *Al-Jazeera*, January 3, 2009, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/89E45D9F-E3EB-4B36-B28F-D138741CA419.htm (Accessed February 16, 2009).

¹⁴⁹ "The Causes of the Attack on Gaza."

medics allowed to go in and take care of them. Additionally, there was a report of execution of unarmed citizens, and a freed prisoner stated that entire families had been executed. This article has a different frame from the other al-Jazeera article, reporting on a great deal of unnecessary bloodshed, and relying on one person as the information source. The article notes that the Palestinian Authority seems partially to blame. 151

E. AN AL-MANAR COMEDIC SPOT

Surprisingly, al-Manar shows a "lighter" side that al-Jazeera does not share. Al-Manar has an archive of editorial cartoons with biting humor. This is perhaps an alternative method al-Manar is utilizing to reach out to its target audience. In places where serious words do not always "hit home," sometimes humor works. Perhaps this is the thinking behind al-Manar's comedic spot. Not to mention the fact that a picture can say more and do more in one glace than an entire article, and the photo, or cartoon in this case, can complete the frame in a matter of seconds. The frame in each of the three examples is anti-Israeli in tone.

The cartoons say a great deal about al-Manar's wit. The first of the three examples shows an Israeli soldier surviving an explosive pit labeled "Lebanon" only to step toward another one labeled "Gaza." ¹⁵² In a second example, what looks to be a hardened Israeli soldier is examining a book entitled "Know Your Enemy." The book cover shows a photo of a baby. ¹⁵³ The final example depicts an Israeli magician reaching into a magic top hat, presumably to pull out a rabbit. The hat is labeled "Gaza" and the magician's hand is obviously being ravaged inside the hat. ¹⁵⁴ These comic strips are included in the Appendices.

¹⁵⁰ Diya' Al-Kahlout, "Testimonials of the Occupation's Execution of Palestinians During the Gaza War," *Al-Jazeera*, February 2, 2009, trans. Kenneth W. White. http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/8534EF6E-903A-41C5-8733-7E24E156AB31.htm (Accessed February 16, 2009).

¹⁵¹ Al-Kahlout. "Testimonials of the Occupation's Execution."

¹⁵²*Al-Manar*, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/Comic.aspx?id=20&language+ar (Accessed February 16, 2009).

¹⁵³*Al-Manar*, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/Comic.aspx?id=18&language+ar. (Accessed February 16, 2009).

¹⁵⁴ *Al-Manar*, trans. Kenneth W. White, http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/Comic.aspx?id=16&language+ar. (Accessed February 16, 2009).

F. CONCLUSIONS

The four data sets yield interesting results. Al-Manar seems to have the same framing in both time periods. Resistance is at the top of the list, followed closely by martyrdom. The deep contempt Hizbullah has for the Israelis is just as obvious, and its hatred of American policy in the Middle East is also evident. Themes of Lebanese/Arab pride are also obvious, and the defiance and sacrifice frames are also evident, though not as prevalent as the resistance and martyrdom frames.

The framing al-Jazeera employs is much more subtle, though is it still there. Al-Jazeera is a much more straight news source. Al-Jazeera does not show as much framing during the July 2006 Lebanon conflict. It does show a bit more stylistic diversity in the articles covering the 2008-2009 Gaza conflict, although the shift is minor compared with al-Manar.

Al-Manar can be quite blatant in its use of framing and it is not afraid to show its opinions. Disdain for Israel and the United States is openly expressed. This is not true of al-Jazeera. Al-Jazeera is much more mainstream and, in fact, is building a reputation for fair and unbiased journalism.

By its own admission, Al-Jazeera has had a reputation for controversy. In an article posted on its Web site on November 1, 2006, al-Jazeera lists a series of controversies that have it and its reporters as the subject of the story. For example, in March 2002, al-Jazeera was the only media organization covering demonstrations in Cairo in support of the Palestinian intifada. Its cameramen were arrested. In November 2002, Kuwait banned al-Jazeera from completing a report about U.S. troops based in Kuwait because the report would make Kuwait look bad. In March 2003, the New York Stock exchange put an indefinite ban into effect so that al-Jazeera could not be on the trading floor. The ban was lifted a few months later. Both an Arabic and an English Web site owned by Al-Jazeera are hacked into in March 2003; the sites are shut down. In October 2006, the Tunisian embassy in Qatar is closed because of "a hostile campaign by al Jazeera." ¹⁵⁵

^{155 &}quot;Al Jazeera Under Fire," Al-Jazeera, November 1, 2006. http://english.aljazeera.net/archive/2006/11/2008410112115945443.html (Accessed March 31, 2009).

Part of the controversy surrounding al-Jazeera is due to its broadcasting of Osama bin Laden's videotaped message shortly after the September 11, 2001 attacks. The United States accused al-Jazeera of assisting terrorists with their propaganda—an accusation that al-Jazeera vehemently denies.

The war of ideas is more important now than ever. The world economy is a major issue, markets are falling, pirates are running rampant, and the view of America keeps going down. With a new president at the helm, this is the opportunity for America to truly change direction.

Right now, as is evident in the articles examined, al-Manar is not a candidate for America to reach out and contact, but Al-Jazeera is, and actually always has been. Taking advantage of al-Jazeera and its extremely large Arab audience is something the United States should seriously consider. Al-Jazeera is a reputable news outlet, and while it has had its controversies, it has an audience that remains elusive to the United States. In this globalized world, this is important audience to be able to engage. Unfortunately, this is one audience that the United States has thus far only successfully engage on a small scale. Al-Jazeera is a news agency that is trusted by the Arab people. This is a potential ally that the United States needs to consider.

V. CONCLUSION

A. INTRODUCTION

This study has identified the frames utilized by al-Manar and al-Jazeera, examined the extent to which the frames are used in the news at different time periods, and ascertained if the frames changed between time periods. Additionally, the study compared al-Manar and al-Jazeera's frame usage, determining that there is, indeed, a significant difference between the two media. Al-Manar is much more deliberate and aggressive in its framing, whereas al-Jazeera has been moving toward a more balanced mainstream news style. The two styles are different because the audiences being reached are distinct and the audience reaction desired by each medium is different. Al-Jazeera is not necessarily trying to get its audience to move into some kind of action, whereas al-Manar wants support for Hizbullah. Hizbullah needs to compel its audience into action, and that is where the framing comes into play.

B. REVIEW OF THE FRAMES

Al-Manar and al-Jazeera differ significantly in their framing. Al-Manar makes no apologies for its motto, "Death to America," and its hatred of everything connected to Israel. In contrast, al-Jazeera is becoming a reputable and trustworthy news organization; it offers more balanced news pieces, representing a variety of perspectives. Al-Jazeera's articles contain more analysis, while al-Manar's articles contain more emotion. In an interview with *The New Yorker*, al-Manar news director Hassan Fadlallah, who sees CNN as representing the "Zionist news network," makes it clear that neutrality is not what al-Manar is about—neutrality is left for al-Jazeera. 156

¹⁵⁶ Jeffrey Goldberg, "A Reporter at Large: In the Party of God (Part I)," *The New Yorker*, October 14, 2002, http://www.jeffreygoldberg.net/articles/tny/a_reporter_at_large_in_the_par.php (Accessed March 15, 2009).

Additionally, al-Manar has selected frames that resonate with its target audience and, indeed, has compelled the audience into action. Whether the action is simply support for the group or participation in the group depends on the individual and what frame actually moved him or her into action.

1. Resistance

The frame of resistance dominates the articles selected from the al-Manar Web site from the 2006 period and the 2008/9 period. In the July 2006 war, Hizbullah's resistance against the Israelis is emphasized. The group's successes against a larger, stronger, better equipped enemy are also highlighted, demonstrating the pride frame that is probably a source of the defiance attitude. Al-Manar stories stress Hizbullah's successes against Israeli ships, tanks, and other equipment, which make the enemy look incompetent and ultimately cause them to retreat. Such stories provide great material for al-Manar's PSYOPS and propaganda.

The resistance frame is repeated on al-Manar's Web site and in its news items. Continued resistance gives credence to Hizbullah. The Sunni have come to view the Shi'a as a legitimate population now, especially because of Hizbullah's continued success in its resistance to Israel. Hizbullah has proven itself on the battlefield against an opponent widely recognized as a force to be reckoned with. Hizbullah's Secretary General Sayyid Hassan Nasrallah is the epitome of resistance. He has the skill and flair to inspire a crowd into a frenzy. He does not just address the Shi'a, but all Lebanese people, and on special occasions such as Martyrs Day, he uses his charisma to garner continued support for the cause. 157

For Hizbullah, resistance is a way of life for the Shi'a. It is the mission of the group, but also of each individual to resist and to embody resistance practices throughout daily living. It is also a religious duty that the Shi'a are expected to live by. "The resistance society is the product that Hizbullah's holistic network aims to achieve." ¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Wilmsen, "Hizbullah's Reputation," 8.

¹⁵⁸ Harb and Leenders, "Know Thy Enemy," 189.

2. Martyrdom

Many al-Manar articles report on numbers of people injured or killed. In both time periods, those killed are always referred to as martyrs. Even an eight-year-old girl was labeled a martyr. Higher body counts seem to be better. The fact that bodies were buried under rubble is routinely reported, along with information on the victims' activities just prior to death (usually innocuous daily activities like eating lunch).

The martyrdom frame rarely appears in al-Jazeera stories for either time period, illustrating their more conventional attitude. Martyrdom is used only once in the 2008-2009 al-Jazeera articles. Al-Jazeera reports body counts, but without the derogatory terms. While al-Jazeera does use terms such as "massacres" and "slaughters," conflicting body count estimates are also reported.¹⁵⁹

The martyrdom frame is one built on Hizbullah's narratives, and encompasses sacrifice as well. Becoming a martyr will ensure one's place in Lebanese history. This is important to the Shi'a.

3. Lebanese Solidarity and Arab Pride

Lebanese solidarity and Arab pride can be subsumed under the frame of patriotism and unity. This frame is behind the Sunni acceptance of the Shi'a and the unification of the Shi'a and the Sunnis. A great deal of this acceptance is based on Hizbullah's continued resistance to Israel and its successes through several conflicts.

Hizbullah has gained a great deal of support because of its continued success against Israel, and also because of its support of the Palestinians. The group is aware of the importance of the Palestinians, who now support Hizbullah and bolster its support base. A continual increase in its support base is important for any group, and in Hizbullah's case, using Lebanese solidarity and Arab pride is a perfect method of reaching out to its Lebanese audience.

^{159 &}quot;Missiles Get Close to Tel Aviv," Al-Jazeera, August 5, 2006.

¹⁶⁰ Ajemian, "Resistance Beyond Time," 6.

¹⁶¹ Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 4.

4. Israelis and U.S. Government are Enemies

The frame of common enemies is another aspect of patriotism. News reports do not always mention both Israel and the United States, especially when Israel is the subject of the report. In the al-Manar pieces examined for this study, Israel is always presented in a derogatory fashion. This frame is evident in all articles from al-Manar, but in very few from al-Jazeera, where the frame, when used, is much tempered.

That the Israelis are the enemy needs no explanation. During the July 2006 war, for al-Manar, that is who the fight was against. However, Hizbullah's disdain of Americans is actually because of the U.S. government policy toward Israel. In fact, Hizbullah leadership has made is clear that their issue is not with the American people, but with the American government.

In the 2008-2009 conflict, it was not much of a stretch for al-Manar to take on the Palestinian situation. Politically, with 23 seats in the 128-member Lebanese parliament, Hizbullah has established a presence for continued resistance as a part of the government.

The broad framing spectrum during the 2008-2009 period for al-Jazeera is interesting. Al-Jazeera displayed framing attitudes ranging from near neutrality to some rather hostile pieces. This frame is one which goes hand in hand with resistance and Israel is the primary target of Hizbullah's resistance.

5. Defiance and Sacrifice

While defiance and sacrifice are treated in this study as distinct and separate, the two frames can also be considered extensions of resistance and martyrdom, respectively. Defiance is resistance combined with Arab pride or Lebanese nationalism. The al-Safeer article provides a clear example of defiance:

It's certain that Lebanon, particularly when it's living through the glory of the defiance and the courageous resistance to the American war which the Israeli war machine is launching against it with all its weaponry and perpetrating massacres every day murdering women and children and destroying the cities and villages and the means of living, won't produce puppet agents like the Afghani 'Karzai.' 162

¹⁶² Sulaman, "By the Way."

Although not as dramatic as the ultimate sacrifice and, therefore, not elevated to the status of martyrdom, the realities of daily life during wartime still exact a high price. One woman is quoted in an al-Manar article saying, "We have sacrificed and we continue to sacrifice for the movement of the Arab peoples." ¹⁶³

C. UNDERSTANDING HIZBULLAH

So why do so many people get involved with activism and social movements in the Middle East? "Long-festering, genuine grievances . . . " is one guess, but not a correct one. There are other theories dealing with political opportunities. 164 Bamyeh has different ideas where he discusses the migration of political energies, the creative moment, the recourse to tradition and distinguishing between two origins of social movements. The migration of political energies in terms of Hizbullah deals with Nasser's popularity as a symbol. Even after his death, he represented pan-Arabism, his posters still displayed right next to those of Musa Sadr. The energy line in this case was Nasser to Musa Sadr and his forces to Amal and then on to Hizbullah. 165 The energy does not die. It just migrates.

The creative moment is a novel approach to getting a job done. Unfortunately, in Hizbullah's case, the group managed to come up with one of the nastier approaches to conflict, and the suicide bombing, which is something Hizbullah has used on Israeli troops as well as Americans and the French.¹⁶⁶

Hizbullah's use of the media is another way in which it has become known, and its successful pursuit of politics is another example of how it is becoming "known." ¹⁶⁷

In its early days, Hizbullah was primarily a charitable organization providing assistance where the assistance was needed, much the same way that many of these types

¹⁶³ Shaitoo, "People of Soyther Al-Dahiya."

¹⁶⁴ Mohammed Bamyeh, "Hizbollah and the Theory of Social Movements," *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Montreal Convention Center, Montreal, Quebec, Canada*, August 10, 2006 <Not Available>. http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p104419_index.html (Accessed March 5, 2009).

¹⁶⁵ Bamyeh, "Hizbollah and the Theory of Social Movements," 14-17.

¹⁶⁶ Bamyeh, "Hizbollah and the Theory of Social Movements," 18.

¹⁶⁷ Bamyeh, "Hizbollah and the Theory of Social Movements," 20-21.

of groups begin. These self-organized interest groups tend to become politicized due to crisis conditions and then eventually became militarized due to the environment they are in. 168

Bamyeh's final point is the two types of social movement origins, one is the idea in its pure form, unfettered, while the other is structural or the socialization of the idea, that is through some crisis or event that has caused the movement. 169

The idea in this case for the Shi'a has been a global political mission. This managed to take hold in the 1970s when Shia'ism rose as a political force, though the Shi'a have existed for centuries. Steps led up to Hizbullah, foreign support government recognition, and a national mission.

Hizbullah has been extremely competent throughout the years in terms of getting its desired message out to its target audiences. It extensively uses the media to establish those messages, specifically al-Manar and now its associated Web site. The group has utilized specific frames that resonate with its target audience and compel audience member to move into action, to get involved with the movement.

The Lebanese people do not see Hizbullah as anything but an organization that provides social services to those Lebanese in need, as well as one with a military aspect that resists Israeli occupation, and does so successfully. It is this successful resistance, and the framing and selling of the frame that garners much of the support the group has received.

So why does Hizbullah use the frames it uses and project these frames in the particular manner it has chosen? These methods work. The frames Hizbullah has chosen resonate with the Lebanese people.

Right now Hizbullah is one entity that is seen as resisting and winning that particular fight. Not only is its strategy on the battlefield correct, but its war of ideas and its communications with is constituents is right on the mark. Resisting Israel at all costs has real meaning to these people. Fighting for their beliefs has real meaning, as does dying for those beliefs. Resistance is started at the grassroots level and for Hizbullah this

¹⁶⁸ Bamyeh, "Hizbollah and the Theory of Social Movements," 21-25.

¹⁶⁹ Bamyeh, "Hizbollah and the Theory of Social Movements," 26.

is where a great deal of its support began. Through resistance, continued success and sense of pride, Hizbullah has garnered a great deal of backing.

Martyrdom is another important frame Hizbullah uses to bolster its numbers. It is used against a historical backdrop with hints of becoming an ultimate hero just like Mussawi or Mughniyeh, or those back in Lebanese history, such as Hussein and his followers, all of whom died at Karbala centuries ago, and are still celebrated. In Lebanon, "martyrdom is seen as the highest for of glorifying God, as it often is for adherent of the Shiite minority across the Islamic world, and especially in Persian Iran." While families mourn their loved ones, they also feel a sense of pride, so it is a moment to celebrate. This tradition is passed down from father to son.

In terms of Lebanese solidarity and Arab pride frames, these are perfect for using a target audience approach. Nasrallah, known to be an eloquent speaker, is able to convey the frames to a target audience in an effective manner. As an example Narallah will treat one subject three different ways to convey his message to three different target audiences. When addressing the Shiite people alone Nasrallah will discuss jihad as a religious duty, but when addressing all Lebanese he will use a nationalistic frame, calling on them to do their patriotic duty to help force the Israelis off Lebanese land. Nasrallah also uses the struggle Israel as a nationalist frame with America as part of the problem and both much be resisted. Of course, Hizbullah is at the top of the resistance. One final reach is the international audience where Nasrallah will frame the Israeli issue, accusing the Israelis of international violations. These ideas speak directly to, and can affect, Lebanese solidarity and Arab pride.

One frame that Hizbullah has continued to rely on is that Israel is the enemy. The group also considers the United States government an enemy too, due to its policies toward Israel. This frame provides a common enemy, which makes sense. The resistance frame is a successful one because Hizbullah has been successful in the conflict against Israel. Keeping the enemy in the public eye serves as a reminder. Event when Israel

¹⁷⁰ Scott Peterson, "Funerals in Lebanon's South Foster Culture of Martyrdom," The Christian Science Monitor, August 21, 2006, http://www.csmonitor.com/2006/0821/p10s01-wome.html (Accessed April 6, 2009).

¹⁷¹ Timothy M. Bennett. Violence and Institutionalization in Islamic Activism: Explaining Moderation, Naval Postgraduate School Master's Thesis, December 2006, 24-25.

withdrew from Lebanon, the issue did not go away. There was still the Palestinian issue, and that just allowed Hizbullah to broaden the frame to include the Palestinians under the Israeli issue.¹⁷²

D. IMPLICATIONS FOR DIPLOMACY

While many consider Hizbullah a terrorist organization, it has legitimacy in Lebanon and is now a member of the coalition government.¹⁷³ In addition to its military and political activities, Hizbullah is known for humanitarian aid and for its hospitals, clinics, schools, and agricultural centers. Winning hearts and minds will not be easy in a country where its people shout "Death to America" and "Death to Israel," while trying to overthrow their own government.

The frames described in this thesis are what confront the United States as it engages in the war of ideas. Knowing the frames that al-Manar uses is an important first step to combating those frames, regardless of whether or not the United States is the target. At this point, at least one U.S. ally is a target. Getting both the message and the method right are just as imperative.

This has proven challenging to the United States, as evidenced by former President Bush's missed opportunity to address an Arab audience discussed in Chapter II. The U.S. decision to ban al-Manar and provide its own station for the Arab audience, Alhurra, seemed like a good idea at first. However, Alhurra programming decisions have not been carefully conceived, and the station has paid for it. For example, breaking news, including the assassination of a sheikh, has gone unreported. Alhurra is criticized for lack of coverage of the Abu Ghraib scandal. Unlike Alhurra, al-Manar and al-Jazeera will interview leaders of groups considered terrorist, exactly the people who interest their audiences. Alhurra lacks the edginess of al-Manar and al-Jazeera; it is considered not

¹⁷² Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 5.

^{173 &}quot;Lebanon: The Many Hands and Faces of Hezbollah," *Irin.* March 29, 2006. http://www.irinnews.org/PrintReport.aspx?ReportId=26242 (Accessed June 11, 2008).

much more than a propaganda tool.¹⁷⁴ Alhurra lacks credibility, and without credibility the audience will tune out. The audience will find another medium, one that will give them the information they want.

Why do top U.S. government officials not effectively engage the Arab media? Unlike former President Bush, President Obama seems prepared to recognize, acknowledge, and reach out to the Arab world. His first big television interview after his inauguration went to an Arab media source, al-Arabiya. Reportedly, his White House advisors felt the time was right and recommended al-Arabiya as the right venue, because Al-Arabiya is "the voice of moderation" compared with al-Jazeera's "more sensational coverage." The al-Arabiya interview is a start, but, as noted in Chapter II, al-Arabiya is less popular than al-Jazeera, so a huge audience remains unaddressed.

Al-Jazeera's English-language Web site shows that President Obama's gestures toward the Middle East are considered significant. He clearly believes that the Middle East, and specifically the suffering in Gaza, needs to be addressed.

Furthermore, President Obama's manner of addressing the situation is completely opposite of his predecessors.¹⁷⁶ In a recent article in *Foreign Policy*, Marc Lynch remarks that "listening" appears to be a primary message from President Obama, in contrast to the "lecturing" and "dictating" messages heard by Arabs for eight years from former President Bush.¹⁷⁷ Lynch calls the al-Arabiya interview a "genuinely fresh start in the way the United States interacts with the Arab world and a new dedication to public diplomacy."¹⁷⁸

Currently, al-Manar is not a contender for a President Obama interview, but al-Jazeera is, and al-Jazeera is huge. Al-Jazeera will continue to develop its objectivity

¹⁷⁴ Baylouny, "Al-Manar and Alhurra," 16.

¹⁷⁵ Scott Macleod, "How al-Arabiya Got the Obama Interview," *Time*, January 28, 2009, http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1874379,00.html (Accessed March 15, 2009).

¹⁷⁶ Rob Reynolds, "Obama Moves Swiftly on Middle East," *Al Jazeera English*, January 29, 2009, http://english.aljazeera.net/news/americas/2009/01/2009128155320274783.html (Accessed March 15, 2009).

¹⁷⁷ Marc Lynch, Obama to Arabs: "What You'll See is Someone Who is Listening," *Foreign Policy*, January 27, 2009, http://lynch.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/01/27/obama on al arabiya (Accessed March 15, 2009).

¹⁷⁸ Lynch, "What You'll See is Someone Who is Listening."

and neutrality, and hopefully President Obama will have the right message at the right time, take it to al-Jazeera and its very large audience, and in this way show America's desire to reach out to Arabs.

E. CONCLUSION

It is important to know how various media report the news and the manner in which each outlet frames its reports. Knowing which media is more responsive is also important, as is knowing the target audience for each media. However, the war of ideas will not be won with silence. If the United States hopes to address the Arab people, perhaps the best way is to be as honest, forthright, open, and neutral as Americans expect others to be. In addition, the United States needs to be willing to "go out on a limb" as it were and conduct those interviews that may be a bit controversial.

As Blinken wrote, al-Jazeera has a reputation for being biased.¹⁷⁹ That bias is possibly why, as previously mentioned, then-President Bush refused to be interviewed by al-Jazeera. Reports were that Bush administration officials went so far to complain to Qatari leaders about al-Jazeera reporters in that past broadcasts have been, "inflammatory, misleading and occasionally false, especially on Iraq." However, Bush still missed an important opportunity to address a large number of Arab people. If he had an appropriate message and related it in an appropriate manner, it would have gone out and may have even made some headway. Al-Jazeera is not going to chop it into pieces and reassemble it into something else. Yes, editors can take items out of context, but that simply means an interviewee is required to be cautious in his or her statements. Now is not the time for paranoia. Now is the time for engagement. Instead, former President Bush did the exact opposite and did not take advantage of an opportunity to address the Arabs, and the Arabs took notice of that too.

President Obama's decision to engage Arab media, specifically al-Arabiya, could prove to be a good move. That was his first major interview after taking office and the

¹⁷⁹ Blinken, "War of Ideas," 108.

 $^{^{180}}$ Steven R. Weisman, "Under Pressure, Qatar May Sell Jazeera Station," The New York Times, January 30, 2005

http://www.nytimes.com/2005/01/30/international/middleeast/30jazeera.html?pagewanted=print&position=(Accessed April 5, 2006)

fact that he had the interview with an Arab media outlet made a statement. Perhaps not everyone was listening, as al-Arabiya is not very large in terms of audience size, but that gesture did not go unnoticed.

Revisiting the war of ideas, those ideas the United States wants to disseminate are not going to be publicized to a worldwide audience if the United States decides not to engage a particular part of the target audience. Al-Jazeera has an audience of 35 million Arab viewers who feel the news outlet is the best available and they prove it by continually tuning in to al-Jazeera. Al-Manar is not ready for engagement, but al-Jazeera is, and has been.

¹⁸¹ Telhami, *Public Opinion Poll*.

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APPENDIX A

Source: Al Manar Date: 3 August 2006 Author: not given

URL: http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=611

The Men of the Islamic Resistance are Recording Heroic Battles in Confronting the Military Elite Forces

The warriors of the Islamic resistance plunged into destructive confrontations with the forces of the enemy, during which they repulsed more than one attempt to advance on new axes that the Zionist invaders created in the border area. They inflicted huge losses in personnel on the enemy as well as the destruction of many vehicles. The Islamic resistance clarified that the new front was distributed across the gateways of the villages and towns of Al-Adisa, Rab Al-Thalatheen, Taibe, Muhaybib, Mais Al-Jabal, Aita Al-Shaab and Al-Jabayn. Throughout them, the warriors bravely tackled the greatest of battles. In the name of its warriors, the Islamic resistance vowed to turn every hill, valley and alley of our proud land into a hell in the face of the invader's battalions.

The attempts of the enemy's army to advance towards the town of Aita Al-Shaab began in the morning hours of last Wednesday where the resistance fighters opposed it and inflicted losses that remained on the battlefield until sunset Wednesday; numerous times they pushed the elite forces back and with firepower controlled the ambuscade point, preventing the elite forces from evacuating the wounded in a tank that was destroyed in the afternoon during an attempt to advance, and whose crew was killed and injured. In the morning, the resistance plunged into very violent battles with an infantry and armored force that tried to advance toward Aita Al-Shaab on three axes, from the West, East and North. The warriors made confirmed hits on the advancing forces.

A recent statement by the Islamic resistance indicated the renewal of the battles on the Taibe project border road where the resistance fighters fought against a force that was attempting to advance and they destroyed a Merkava tank. Before that, at 0830 the warriors foiled the advance of an armored Zionist force moving toward Wadi Al-Raheb, Khila, Riddah, and Suwad Al-Raheb on the outskirts of the border town of Ramish, and engaged in violent confrontations with it. The wide-scale Zionist attack began shortly before 0600 when the warriors stood against an Israeli infantry force that was attempting to infiltrate the village of Muhaybib. In parallel with that, another enemy force moved along the Rab Thalatheen—Al-Adisa axis and tried to sneak towards Lebanese territory, but the warriors resisted them and destroyed three Merkava tanks and killed or injured their crews. The enemy then opened a second front north of Mais Al-Jabal where it made a failed attempt to control Al-Adisa, located on the border fence which starts at Rab Al-Thalatheen, after the failure of the advance on Tuesday along the Kafr Kila—Al Adisa axis. The National Media Agency reported the people of Al-Adisa as saying that the Israeli force fell into an ambush by the resistance in which rocket shells were used and the resistance fighters destroyed a number of tanks.



http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=611&language=ar

APPENDIX B

Source: Al Manar Date: 5 August 2006 Author: Talal Sulaman- Al-Safeer

URL: http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=758

By The Way: What Israel Didn't Consider To Be A War, Washington Won't Consider To Be Terrorism!

The American administration's responsibility for this Israeli war on Lebanon is no longer debatable, neither on the international nor even on the Arab level (as testified to by Saudi royalty), as well as the local level, regardless of some of the nitpicking or the delusions produced by self-deceit or the assumption that "the New Lebanon" is an American industry. The official positions from the American administration, with their lofty symbols, are unmistakable in the clarity of their responsibility for turning the "clash" which was destined to occur after the capture of the two Israeli soldiers into a war, and then for prolonging this war and fanning its fires to the point where it's close to consuming all of Lebanon, as well as hindering and blocking the international efforts aiming at a ceasefire or even a "cessation of military operations" led by France which now bears because [of these efforts] sharp American criticisms which practically class [France] among the sponsors of Hezbollah.

Some put these criticisms in the context of revenge for the French stance that the American involvement in the Iraqi war of occupation is outside of international law, to spite [France], while others view in these criticisms an attempt to place France in a bad situation to cause it to lose its special prestige in Lebanon and to turn Israel against it at the very same time.

The last thing that confirms this American responsibility for the Israeli war and for prolonging it is the decision to dispatch Assistant Secretary of State David Welch to the region with a stop in Beirut, to discuss the current developments. David Welch is very well known to the Lebanese for his positions against everything that doesn't see the future of Lebanon as American. It's axiomatic that he will reject the principal of resistance, and therefore Hezbollah and everyone who doesn't accept the American formula for the "Democratization" of Lebanon and rendering it obedient to where it will directly guard the borders of the Israeli state under the term "carrying out the resolutions of international law," including Resolution 1559 [note: 1559 calls upon Lebanon to establish its sovereignty over all of its land and called upon "foreign forces" (generally interpreted as referring but not limited to Syria) to withdraw from Lebanon and to cease intervening in the internal politics of Lebanon. The resolution also called on all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias to disband and declared support for a "free and fair electoral process". Source: Wikipedia]. Secretary of State Condaleezza Rice had allowed herself to direct sharp criticisms (we might even say insults) at the staff of the 14 March Group when she summoned them to meet with her at the her Embassy in Awkar, when she came to Beirut before Tel Aviv, to pose to Lebanon the dark specter of going to war. David Welch has given himself more than once the right to claim that he speaks for the "Rice Revolution," like American Ambassador to the UN John Bolton...they are alike in injustice. In the view of the majority of Lebanese, David Welch was never an envoy of peace. He rejects working with this majority and accepting their logic, and insists on confronting their nationalist position with an attempt to surround them with the uncertainty of the relationship with Syria and then going on about Iran.

This is a blatant stratagem: Every one who has rejected the American hegemony is destined to be forced from his nationalist stance and be accused of being one who disagrees with the American policy. Apart from all this logic which attempts to portray everyone who opposes the Israeli occupation, and hence the new Israeli war, as an enemy of Western Civilization and Democracy and a supporter of Terrorism, sending Welch will be understood by itself as a message to Israel to extend the duration of its war against Lebanon and its people and institutions and to finish off what's left of the infrastructure and the public facilities (and in that regard, yesterday [the Israelis] destroyed the last four bridges that they had forgotten in their previous raids, and now nothing is left except, as some wits have joked, the "Bridge of the Almond Trees," of which Fairuz sang; perhaps the Israeli Air Force is still looking for it...). The American administration is wagering by means of the Israeli war on the generation of a Lebanese "Karzai." [ref to Afghani president Hamid Karzai] This is a foolish gamble, as well as an insulting provocation to the people of Lebanon, its government and all of its officials and politicians. It's certain that Lebanon, particularly when it's living through the glory of the defiance and the courageous resistance to the American war which the Israeli war machine is launching against it with all its weaponry and perpetrating massacres every day murdering women and children and destroying the cities and villages and the means of living, won't produce puppet agents like the Afghani "Karzai."

Past experience gives evidence that Lebanon, in facing the Israeli invasions, has produced leaders and patriots along the lines of Sa'ib Salam, Rashid Karami, Saleem Al-Hass and Rafiq Al-Hariri; those who stood with their people in opposing the occupation and the occupiers and the ones weak of spirit who are content with the enticement of the tanks of the occupier installing them in the seats of "power" to cover for the occupation, but it doesn't cover the truth; it might postpone the final reckoning but it won't do away with it. Lebanon is feeling great regard and pride in the glory of the resistance and the defiance of its heroic warriors. This is reflected in the nation in all its leadership positions: presidency, government, parliamentary council, political leaders, spiritual authorities, party and social organizations, etc. After the price they have paid in their blood and the lives of their children and their cities and villages and the sources of their livelihoods as a result of the war of total destruction which Israel launched on [Lebanon] under the American administration, it can't said that the Lebanese have abandoned the glory of their legendary resistance, or that they are content with the conditions of the cease-fire, conditions their enemy was unable to achieve with the fire which destroyed their public structures and the dreams of their children and their right to a life suitable for this people who have become now, more than at any time previous, the source of pride for the entire Arab nation and all those the world over who aspire to freedom and progress and true Democracy. Lebanon is truly new, born from the heart of the fire. It's strong enough to reject its will being usurped by terrorism, even if that takes the form of political maneuvers and financial temptations (?!), after its Israeli enemy was unable to seize its will by force of its unlimited American arms.



على الطريق: ما لم تأخذه إسرائيل حرباً، لن تأخذه واشنطن بالإرهاب!

عدد القراء : 202 الم الق

هل نری

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المنار تا

05/08/2006 صحيفة السفير - طلال سلمان / لم تعد مسؤولية الإدارة الأميركية عن هذه الحرب الإسرائيلية على لبنان موضع نفاش، لا على المستوف الدولي، ولا حتى على المستوف العربي، بشيَّادة ملكية سعوديَّة، فضلاً عن المستوف المحلي، وبغض النظر عن بعض المماحكات أو الأوهام التي تنتجها مخادعة النفس أو الافتراض أن "لبنان الجديد" هو صناعة أميركية. المواقف الرسمية الصادرة عن الإدارة الأميركية، برموزها العلبا، قاطعة في وضوح مسؤوليتها عن تحويل "الاشتباك" الذي كان مقدراً وقوعه بعد أسر الجنديين الإسرائيليين، إلى حرب، ثم عن إدامة هذه الحرب وتأجيح نيرانها بحيث تكاد تحرق لبنان كله، فضلًا عن تعطيل أو عرفلة الجهود الدولية الهادفة إلى وقف إطلاق النار، أو حتى "وقف العمليات العسكرية"، التي تتصدّرها فرنسا وتتحمّل بسببها انتفادات أميركية حادة، تكاد تصنفها بين أنصار "حزب الله"... اللهم إذا أدرجت هذه الانتقادات في سُياقَ الانتقام من الموقف الفرنسي من التورط الأميركي في حرب احتلال العراق، من خارج الشرعيّة الدولية، ويرغم أنفها، أو إذا رأى فيها آخرون توريطاً لفرنسا يهدف إلى إفقادها مكانتها الخاصة في لبنان ويستعدي عليها إسرائيل في الوقت عينه. آخر ما يؤكد هذه المسؤولية الأميركية عن الحرب الإسرائيلية وإدامتها هو القرار بإيفاد مساعد وزيرة الخارجية ديفيد ولش إلى المنطقة، مع محطة في بيروت، للبحث في التطورات الجارية.. وديفيد ولش معروف جيداً من اللبنانيين بمواقفه الْعدائية لَكل من لا يرك مستقيل لبنات أميركياً.. وبديهي أن يكون رافضاً لميداً المقاومة، وبالتالي لـ"حرّب الله"، ولكل من لم يقبل بالصيغة الأميركية ك"دمقرطة" لبنان، وتطويعه بحيث يتولي مباشرة حراسة حدود الكيات الإسرائيلي تحت عنوات "تنفيذ قرارات الشرعية الدولية" وبالذات منها القرار .1559 وإذا كانت وزيرة الخارجية الأميركية كوندليساً رايس قد سمحت لنفسها بأنُ توجه انتقادات حادة (حتى لا نقول إهانات) لأركان جماعة 14 أذار عندما استدعتهم إلَى لقائها في سفارتها في عوكر، حين قدمت إلى بيروت قبل تل أبيب، لتلقي على لبنان شبهة المباشرة بالحرب، فإن ديفيد ولش قد أعطى نفسه في أكثر من مناسبة حق الأدعاء ءأنه إنما ينطق باسم "ثورة الأرز"، على طريقة السفير الأميركي لدى الأمم المتحدة جون بولتون... ومن شبايه أخاه فما ظلم. لم يكن ديفيد ولبش يوماً، في نظر أكثرية اللبنانيين، موفد سلام... قهو يرفض التعامل مع هذه الأكثرية وقبوك منطقها، ويصر على مواجهة موقفها الوطني بمحاولة محاصرتها بشبهة العلاقة مع سوريا واستطراداً مع إبران... وهذه حيلة مكشـوفة: كلّ من رفض الهيمنة الأميركية يصير إخراجه من موقعه الوطني ليتهم بالتبعية لمن يخاصم السياسة الأميركية... وبمعزل عن كافة هذا المنطق الذي يحاول تصوير كل من يتصدى للاحتلال الإسرائيلي، ومن ثمر للحرب الإسرائيلية الجديدة، عدواً للحضارة الغربية وللديموقراطية ومناصراً للإرهاب، فإن إيفاد ولش بالذات سيفهم كرساله لإسرائيل بأن تطيل أمد حربها ضد لبنان وشعبه ومؤسساته، وبأن تكمل الإجهار على ما تبقى من بنيته التحتية ومرافقة العامة. (وهي أمس بالذات دمرت آخر أربعة جسور كانت قد نسيتها في غاراتها السابقة... ولم يتبق على حد ما يتندر بعض الظرفاء حسر اللوزية" الذي تغني له السيدة فيروز، ولعل الطيران الإسرائيلي ببحث عنه، بعد..).إن الإدارة الأميركية تراهى عبر الحرب الإسرائيلية على استيلاد "قرضاي" لبناني. وهو رهان سخيف، فضلاً عن أنه استفزاز بالإهانة لشعب لبنان وحكومته ومسؤوليه وساسته كافة. والمؤكد أن لبنان، خصوصاً وهو يعيش مجد الصمود والمقاومة الباسلة للحرب الأميركية التي تشنها عليه ألة الحرب الإسرائيلية، بأسلحتها كافة، فترتكب المجازر يومياً فتلاً للأطفال والنساء وتدميراً للمدن والقرى وأسبأب الحياة، لا ينتج عملاء من طراز "قرضاًي" الأففاني. والتجارب تدل أن لبنات في مواجهة الاجتباحات الإسرائيلية قد أنتج قادة وطنيين من طراز صائب سلام ورشيد كرامي وسليم الحص ورفيق الحريري، ممن وقفوا مع شعبهم في التصدي للاحتلال والمحتلين وضعاف النفوس الذين ارتضوا أن تنصَّبهم دبابات المحتل في مقاعد "السَّلَطة" التكون فتنة تغطي الاحتلال ولكنها لا تغطى الحقيقة، وقد ترجئ المحاسبة والكنها لا تلغيها. إن البنان يعيش حالة اعتزاز وفخر بمجد المقاومة وصمود مُجاهَّديها الأبطال... وهي حالة تعكّس نفسها علَى دولته بمواقعها القيادية كافّة، رئاسة وحكومة ومجلساً نيأبياً وقادة بين ومرجعيات روحية وهيئات حزبية واجتماعية إلق. وغير وارد أن يفرّط اللبنانيون، بعدما دفعوا ما دفعوه من دماتهم وحياة أطفالهم ومدنهم وقراهم ومصادر رزقهم نتيجة حرب التدمير الشامل التي تشنها إسرائيل تحت الإدارة الأميركية، بمجد صمودهم الأسطوري، وأن يرتضوا شروطاً لوقف النار لم يستطع عدوهم تحقيقها بالنار التي دمرت مرافقهم العامة وأحلام

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أطفالهم وحقهم بحياة تليق بهذا الشعب الذي بات الآن أكثر من أي يوم مضى موضع اعتزاز أمته العربية وكل الطامحين إلى الحربة والتقدم والديموقراطية الحقيقية بين شعوب العالم كافة. إن لبنان جديداً حقاً يولد من قلب النار. .. وهو قوي كفاية لرفض احتلال إرادته بالإرهاب، حتى لو أتخذ شكل المناورات السياسية والإغراءات المالية (١٤) بعدما عجز عدوه الإسرائيلي. عن احتلال إرادته بقوة نيرانه الأميركية غير المحدودة.

14 أذار









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APPENDIX C

Source: Al Manar Date: 12 August 2006 Author: Special Report to Al-Manar

URL: http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=1128

The Islamic Resistance Announces the Destruction of a Zionist 'Super Dvora' Warship Off the Coast of the City of Tyre and the Death and Injuring of the Crew of Twelve

Another naval ship has joined the list of Israeli naval vessels which the men of the Islamic resistance have destroyed. This time the Islamic resistance put an end to the attacks which an enemy boat was carrying out on our resistant people. The resistance announced that it destroyed a naval unit of the 'Super Dvora' type [[an Israeli in-shore patrol and attack boat]] off the beach of Al-Mansouri, south of the city of Tyre. It came out in a statement by the resistance that at 1405 hours on Friday, while the naval unit was attacking our brave people and our civilian areas, the warriors of the Islamic resistance targeted it with the appropriate weapons and scored a direct hit which resulting in its destruction and fire breaking out on it and its sinking. The Islamic resistance's statement added that other naval units and rubber boats rushed to the scene to save the crew, composed of twelve officers and sailors, all of whom were killed, injured or drowned. A 'Super Dvora' is one of the most effective boats in the world, and is distinguished by high speed and great maneuverability; its crew ranges from ten to twelve sailors. The boat is used for attacking and also for patrol; it can be equipped with varies types of weaponry. Its length varies from 20 to 25 meters, and it's about 6 meters across. This is the third operation of its kind by the Islamic resistance against the enemy's navy since the start of the Zionist assault on Lebanon on the 12th of last month. The resistance had previously destroyed an advanced warship of the 'Sa'ar 5' class [[an Israeli corvette]] off the shores of Beirut and another of the 'Sa'ar 4.5' class [[Israeli missile craft]] off the area of Tyre. The enemy navy hurried to deny the targeting of one its boats, but the scenes of the burning of the boat arose to further embarrass the occupation and to cast light on the degree of seriousness of the Israeli stories about the land and sea resistance operations of the Islamic resistance, while the enemy shows it is not eager to damage the reputation of its navy and air force after the harsh blows its armored and special land forces received at the hands of the resistance.



APPENDIX D

Source: Al Manar Date: 13 August 2006 Author: Fuwad Nur Al-Din for Al-Manar URL: http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=1123

The Outstanding Operational Tactic Of The Resistance Stumps The Israeli Military Experts, Following Hezbollah's Success In Confronting The Israeli Technological Superiority and Equipment

A reading of the military tactics of the Israeli Army in its attack on Lebanon shows that they are a mixture of the Zionist Army's experience in its wars with the Arabs, including the experience of the Lebanese mire, with the addition of the American [practical] applications in Afghanistan and Iraq, extending to aerial bombardment with tons of missiles and unleashing direct artillery to open up regions where the resistance is strong, and arriving at the policy of total destruction, as in Bint Jubayl and Maroun al-Ras and Al-Khiyam, where hundreds of raids were recorded, accompanied by a bombardment about which the least that can be said is that it was "hysterical."

However, all of that did not achieve the desired aims that would allow the enemy generals to boast to one another of the military accomplishments that had been realized. Fundamentally, the problem had reached the point where the enemy leadership could not stop their mad rush because any step in that regard would immediately be in Hezbollah's favor. On the other hand, the unprecedented legendary resistance of Hezbollah in the southern battlefield had made the capabilities of the most powerful army in the region feeble on the ground and incapable of initiative or patience.

The performance of the opposition was characterized by the following principals:

- Reliance on the policy of encircling and drawing the enemy into the killing fields and then the pouncing by the resistance fighters, which inflicted enormous losses on the enemy in a narrow geographic region, in the military calculations. The battles of Maroun Al-Ras were described as a "Vietcong" war, as far as the network of mobile tunnels, and the invaders called the city of Bint Jubayl cursed. That, in addition to the heroism of the resistance fighters in Aita Al-Shaab and Al-Adisa and other villages on the populated line between Lebanon and the occupied territories.
- The destruction of the enemy's mobile armor by the dozens, such as armored troop transports and Merkava tanks which resemble movable iron towers and are considered the latest of their kind in the field of military manufacturing.
- Directing an unprecedented blow against the Zionist navy with the destruction of two 'Sa'ar' class warships.
- The resounding failure of the invaders' army after a month of attacking to stop the firing of missiles on the settlements, and subsequently the failure of the enormous air coverage, including spy planes, warplanes and helicopters, to track the movement of the missile launch platforms. Perhaps the most telling step was the escalation in firing missiles from one hundred at the beginning of the war to 350.

- The tactical performance studied by the leadership of the resistance; they didn't introduce the long-range missiles in the on-going war until the seventeenth day of the assault, when they fired a Khyber-1 missile on the Zionist city of Afula, even though moving a missile like this requires huge vehicles.
- The resistance leadership's capability to move the warriors along more than one axis; indeed, attacking behind the Lebanese-Palestinian border, as well as continuing to control and govern from its heart through all field conditions. This contrasts with what happened in Afghanistan and Iraq after the servering of communications between the leadership and the troops due to air strikes.
- Perhaps the most important achievement of the resistance in this war was making the enemy retreat from its announced goals, from rooting out Hezbollah within two weeks and disarming it, according to the Command Staff, to the enemy's politicians considering the on-going war with the Islamic resistance to be tantamount to a war for the existence of the usurper state or its death.



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APPENDIX E

Source: Al Manar Date: 14 August 2006 Author: Youssef Shaitoo for Al-Manar

URL: http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=1262

The People of Southern Al-Dahiya Expressed Their Shock But They Have Proven That Neither The Destruction Nor The Intimidation Have Shaken Their Resolve and Support For The Victorious Resistance

[The mosque of] Bir Al-Abd—Morning, and no sooner have the hands of the clock touched 8 AM than the people of the southern suburb have gathered around it to enter in droves amidst careful organization that was preceded by clearing out and cleaning some passageways. The citizens halt at the immensity of the destruction and they express their shock but they have demonstrated that neither ruin nor intimidation will shake their resolve and their support for the victorious resistance.

The place: The unfailing Bir Al-Abd or Bir Al-Samoud, and proud Hara Harik, witness to the time of the Zionist failure. The time: Directly after the ceasefire and 33 days after the assault. The scene is indescribable: thousands and thousands of returning refugees, for each of whom the first minutes after 8AM were not enough to depart for his region and neighborhood. Here, are there not homes and streets and pavilions that have borne witness to a terrorist savagery that in its aggressiveness exceeded the codes and shattered the barriers of humanity. For these people fervent in their resistance, all this talk becomes words that accompany them en masse into Al-Dahiya [[a suburb of Beirut]], putting warnings next to the rubble of a house or a store and kept in the fists and hearts with an unprecedented support and with one question: How can we resist even more?

One of the people returning says "the more they strike us and the more destruction we see, the harder we will cling to our land and to fight back to the last breath and the last child, and we will not surrender our land; the more damage they do to us, the more determined and stronger they make us." A woman returning said: "All of this will not weaken our determination, we want victory and peace, and we only want Hassan Nasrallah and the Mujahiddin [warriors] and nothing else." Another citizen said: This is our home within, and the vehicles are opening the way for us to reach it, and in front of this destruction we will build stronger homes with the strength of Hezbollah and the power of the resistance, and God willing all of the scales will be reversed in Lebanon, God willing." Another woman raised her voice saying: "This is the terrorism, so let the world and the Arab nations and their ambassadors come to see what has happened in our region, we are the ones who have given the world lessons in honor and nobility; we have sacrificed and we continue to sacrifice for the movement of the Arab peoples, but I believe that their minds are asleep, so let them look at themselves."

'Praise God for our victory,' this is what the people of Al-Dahiya say, as they describe the things that befell them during the assault. Upon entering Al-Dahiya, they are silent for minutes, asking God for mercy for the martyred and calling for the abundant Arab courage and cleverness which ended what came before and drew the border of a new time for a new nation. One of the citizens says: "We have strength that neither

George Bush nor Jacques Chirac nor any one else possesses; we have the strength of Mohammed and the descendents of Mohammed which is embodied in the Islamic resistance and if the whole world stands in our face, we will not hand over our weapons to anyone."

In droves, the people of Al-Dahiya have come, preceded by bulldozers to open the paths, amidst careful organization during which the health agencies advised [people] to stay as far as possible from the destruction, for fear of the presence of unexploded missiles or poisonous gases. The area between Hara Harik and Bir al-Abd has seen choking traffic that the people of the area volunteered to manage. Only a few hours after noon, the congestion is continuous, while the area has become a stopping point for many of the local and international news agencies, amidst noticeable activity by the foreign press which doesn't neglect expressing their shock at the terrible sight. The horrible scene of the destruction in the southern suburb of al-Dahiya, that the gamblers both within [Lebanon] and without wager will shake the will of the people of the resistance; however al-Dahiya and its inhabitants confirm that they will resist, resist, resist 'til glory and victory.



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APPENDIX F

Source: Al Jazeera Date: 25 July 2006 Author: Mohammed Abd Al-'Atti

URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/75E62B75-E90E-4169-92E3-

A78690B7D531.htm

Israel and the Waters of Lebanon

It's nothing new and it's not strange that Israel is asking the inhabitants of the southern villages in Lebanon to move from their homes to someplace beyond the Litani [River] plain on the pretext that this region is an area of dangerous military operations, and that its first victims will be civilians. Is this security warning the only thing behind the request that concerns Israel? Or is there more to it than meets the eye?

The Facts about Lebanon's Water

In Lebanon there are 15 rivers, including three internal rivers and 12 coastal rivers (the coastal rivers, or the rivers of the western slopes are short rivers that flow into the sea in great drops) and there are three rivers that are shared with neighboring countries. These are the Great Southern River, the Orontes River (with Syria) and the Hasbani River which forms one of the tributaries of the Jordan basin.

These rivers are fed from the snow in areas at elevations greater than 800 meters above sea level, and by the rains in those areas at elevations below 800 meters. As a result of that, the rivers flood twice a year, the first time in January and February in the winter, and the second time in April and May, the snow floods. According to international classifications of waters, Lebanon's waters are renewable; that is, their source is the rain and snow which then come out on the ground surface in the form of rivers. As the period of heavy rainfall in Lebanon varies between 90 and 120 days on average, the rivers flow in the winter and spring, and dry up in the summer. Are these waters tempting Israel, which suffers from a water "gap" estimated at over 1 billion cubic meters annually, particularly in its northern regions?

The Israeli Water Gap

The Israeli settlements and villages and cities in the north depend on satisfying most of their fresh water needs from Lake Tiberias. Until the year 2000, these areas were getting a fourth of their water requirements from Lebanon, especially from the Litani River and the waters of the Wazzani River, one of the tributaries of the Hasbani River. In light of the increasing Israeli needs for fresh water suitable for agriculture, industry and human consumption, while the Israeli water gap is over a billion cubic meters as previously noted, it's clear that control of these regions is not just in the service of the security aspect and the Israeli desire for an isolating security buffer to protect it from the

missiles of Hezbollah. In addition to that, it represents a strategic need that has been constantly in front of the Israelis' eyes.

The Lebanese Waters in the Israeli Strategy

Israel's ambitions for Lebanon's waters are neither the product of the war going on now between Israel and Hezbollah nor even the product of the last two decades. They are historical ambitions present since before the establishment of the state of Israel. In a speech that Chaim Weizmann gave in the name of the Zionist movement in 1919 and which was directed at British Prime Minister David Lloyd, Weizmann frankly pointed out that Israel's need to satisfy part of the northern areas' requirements depends on Lebanese waters. He wrote: "We believe that it's necessary that the northern borders of Palestine include the Litani plain up to a distance of 25 miles, and the western and southern runs of Mount Hermon [Jabal Al-Sheikh]; this is due to our northern regions' need for water for agriculture, industry and power."

After the establishment of the nation of Israel, in 1965 it tried to destroy the project to divert the Hasabani River and the Wazzani River, which was carried out in accordance with the resolution of the Arab Summit held in Cairo in 1964 which decided to "oppose Israel in its attempts to draw the waters of the Jordan River to the Negev Desert by [having] the Arab counties (Lebanon, Syria and Jordan) control the tributaries of the Jordan River and placing these tributaries under the protection of a unified Arab and military command." Golda Meir, the Israeli Prime Minister at that time, justified this destruction by saying that for Israel, the waters were like blood in the veins.

When Israel invaded Lebanon in 1978, it immediately took control of the Wazzani River which feeds the Jordan River and also put in pumps and pipes to deliver the water from the Hasbani River to northern Israel. As for Litani River, which is considered (as the water experts in Lebanon describe it) the spine for water development, Israel blocked all of the projects which aimed at benefiting from [the river], either by preventing financing or by preventing the execution [of the project] by force of arms.

Here it might occur to one to wonder about Israel's refraining from diverting the course of [the Litani] to flow into the regions near the Lebanese-Israeli border. The answer to that has no relationship to the security issues; rather, it is a purely technical issue. The amount of water pouring from the river in those areas is small; therefore Israel believes that if it was to think about the option of diverting, it wouldn't be useful unless it was in the upper parts of the river, starting from the Lake Qaraoun dam where the flow in this area is up to 700 million cubic meters a year. So, when Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, the first thing [the Israelis] did when they reached Lake Qaraoun was to seize all the hydrologic papers and data at the dam and the river and send them to Israel.

In 2002, specifically in September and October, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon threatened to attack Lebanon due to a project being carried out to take the water of the Wazzani River (one of the tributaries of the Hasabani River which provides 20% to 25% of the water of Lake Tiberias) to the liberated villages and towns of south Lebanon.

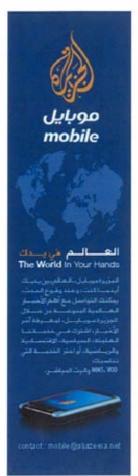
Shimon Peres, the Foreign Minister at that time, likewise stated that "Israel views Lebanon's attempts to divert the flow of the Hasabani's waters as a dangerous and provocative act that can not be tolerated." Similarly, the former Israeli water commissioner Dan Zaslavsky asserted that "we must now first stop the villages of south Lebanon [from being provided] with the water, and declare that the moment the first cubic meter of water comes out of the Hasabani, we will destroy the machines; the issue of the Wazzani doesn't require negotiations and contacts- tanks will destroy the Lebanese facilities at the source."

Water Asperations in the Current War

These fiery statements can be understood as part of a psychological or propaganda war to dissuade Lebanon from acting with its water as it wishes, but they also reflect as well what the water issue represents in terms of Israeli strategic importance, and that the military interaction to settle this issue is the first option for the Israeli command, as is demonstrated in the earlier historical review. This is what also makes the orders which Israel issued through the leaflets which it has dropped on the people of the villages of southern Lebanon from the start of the current war until now calling for them to leave their homes [and go north beyond] the Litani River take on great strategic dimensions that merit pondering and that will not stop at just their military and security dimension.



http://www.aljazeera.net/KnowledgeGate/Templates/Postings/detailedpage.aspx?FRAMELESS=false&NR... 2/25/2009



أما تغذية هذه المجاري فهي من الثلوج في المناطق التي عشريتيات القرت يزيد ارتفاعها على 800 متر فوق سطح البحر؛ والأمطار في المناطق التي ينخفض ارتفاعها عن 800 الماضي حتى الأن متر؛ ونتيجة لذلك تفيض الأنهار مرتين في العام، الأولى في يناير/كانون الثاني وفيراير/شباط، في فصل الشتاء والثانية في أبريل/نيسان ومايو/ليار عند فيضان الثانية في أبريل/نيسان ومايو/ليار عند فيضان التاوج، وحسب التصنيف العالمي للمياه فإن مياه لبنان هي من النوع المتجدد أي مصدرها الأمطار والثاوج التي تخرج إلى سطح الأرض على شكل أنهار، وبما أن فترة هطول المطر في ثبنان تتراوح بين تسعين يوما و 120 يوما كمعدل وسطى فإن الأنهار تجري شئاء وربيعا، وتجف صيفا. فهل تغري هذه المياه وسطى فإن الأنهار تجري شئاء وربيعا، وتجف صيفا. فهل تغري هذه المياه ويخاصة في المناطق الشمالية منها؟

القجوة الماتية الإسرائيلية المنز الإسرائيلية في الشمال على سد معظم تعتمد المستوطنات و القرى والمنن الإسرائيلية في الشمال على سد معظم احتياجاتها المائية من بحيرة طبرية. وكانت هذه المناطق حتى عام 2000 تحصل على ربع احتياجاتها المائية من أبنان و لاسيما من نهر اللبطاني ومياه نهر الوزاني (أحد رواف نهر الحاصياتي)، وفي ظل نز ابد الاحتياجات الإسرائيلية للمياه العذبة الصالحة المزراعة والصناعة وللاستهلاك الأدمي، وفي وقت بلغت فيه الفجوة المائية الإسرائيلية أكثر من مليار مئر مكعب كما سبق القول، يتضح أن السيطرة على تلك المناطق لا يخدم فقط الجانب كما سبق الورغية الإسرائيلية في وجود جيب امنى عازل يحميها من صواريخ حزب الله ولكنه يمثل فضلا عن ذلك حاجة أستر انبجية ظلت دوما أمام أعين الإسرائيليين.

المباه اللبنائية في الاستراتيجية الاسرائيلية والاختاج المستعرة الأن بين والأطماع الإسرائيلية في المياه اللبنائية ليست وليدة الحرب المستعرة الأن بين اسرائيل وحزب الله ولاحتى وليدة العقدين الأخيرين وإنما هي أطماع تاريخية موجودة منذ ما قبل قبل قبل موالة إسرائيل، ففي الخطاب الذي وقعه حابيم وايز من موجودة منذ ما الوزراء البريطاني ديف باسم الحركة الصمهونية عام 1919 والموجه لرئيس الوزراء البريطاني ديفت لويد، أشار وايز من صراحة إلى حاجة إسرائيل إلى سد جزء من احتياجات المناطق الشمالية اعتمادا على المياه اللينانية، فكتب يقول "... نحن نعتقد أنه من الضاطق الشمالية المساطق المسافة 25 ميلا والمنحر أت المخربية والجنوبية لجبل الشيخ وذلك لحاجة مقاطقنا الشمالية للمياه من أجل الزراعة والصناعة والطاقة".

من الممكن أيضا أن يفسر طلب أسرائيل

لأهالي الجنوب الليناتي مغادرة قراهم إلى ما بعد الليطائي بالأطماع

الإسرائيلية في المياه اللبقائية في تلك

المناطق

ويعد قيام دولة إسرائيل أقدمت عام 1965 على تدمير مشروع تحويل مجرى نهر الحاصباني والوزالي الذي كان يتم تتفيذه وفقا لقرار القمة العربية التي عقدت في القاهرة عام 1964 والقاضي بـــ"التصدي لإسرائيل في محاولاتها سحب مياه نهر الأردن إلى صحراء النقب وذلك من خلال قيام الدول العربية (بناني وسوريا والأردن) بالسيطرة على روافد نهر الأردن وتحويل هذه الروافد تحت حماية قيادة عسكرية وعربية موحدة"، وقد بررت عولدا ماثير رئيسة الوزراء الإسرائيل هي بمثابة هذا التدمير بقولها إن المياه بالنسية لإسرائيل هي بمثابة الدم في العروق.

الدم في العروق. وعند اجتياح إسرائيل للبنان عام 1978 قامت على القور بالمنبطرة على نهر الوزاني الذي يغذي نهر الأردن وقامت كذلك بوضع مضحات ومواسير لتوصيل المياه من نهر الحاصباني إلى شمال إسرائيل.

هذا بالنسبة لنهر الحاصباني والوزائي أما عن نهر الليطاني الذي يعتبر كما يصفه خبراه المياه في لبنان العمود الفقري للتتمية المائية، فقد عرقلت إسرائيل جميع المشروعات الهادفة إلى الاستفادة منه وذلك إما بمنع التمويل أو منع التنفيذ بالقوة المسلحة.

http://www.aljazeera.net/KnowledgeGate/Templates/Postings/detailedpage.aspx?FRAMELESS=false&NR... 2/25/2009

وهنا يمكن أن يتبادر إلى الذهن تساؤل عن امتتاع إسرائيل عن تحويل مجرى هذا النهر ليوسب في المناطق القريبة من الحدود اللبنانية الإسرائيلية؟ والإجابة عن ذلك لا علاقة لها بالمسائل الأمنية ولكنها قضية فنية يحتة، إذ أن كمية المياه المتنفقة من النهر في تلك المناطق صقيلة ولذا فإن إسرائيل تعتقد أنها إذا فكرت في خيار التحويل فإن هذا أن يكون مفيدا إلا في اعالي النهر بدءا من سد بحيرة القرعون حيث يصل التنفق في هذه المنطقة إلى 700 مليون متر مكعب سنويا، ومن هنا فإن إسرائيل حينما اجتاحت لبنان عام 1982 كان أول عمل قاموا به عندما وصلوا بحيرة القرعون هو الاستيلاء على جميع اليبانات والمعلومات عندما وصلوا بحيرة عن المد والنهر وإرسائها إلى إسرائيل.

وفي عام 2002 وتحديدا في سبتمبر وأكتوبر هند رئيس الوزراء الإسرائيلي أرييل شارون بالحرب على لبنان بسبب تنفيذ مشروع جر مياه نهر الوزائي (أحد روافد نهر الحاصبائي الذي يوفر ما بين 20 – 25% من مياه بحيرة طبرية) إلى القرى والبلدات المحررة في جنوب ثبنان وصرح كذلك شمعون بيريز وزير الخارجية انذاك قائلا ان إسرائيل ترى في مساعي لبنان لتحويل مجرى مياه الحاصبائي عملا خطيرا واستقزازا لا يمكن تحمله ، وعلى هذا المنول أكد مفوض المياه السابق في إسرائيل دان زاسلافسكي أنه "ينبغي علينا الأن أو لا إيقاف تزويد قرى جنوب لبنان بالمياه، وإعلان أنه في اللحظة التي يخرج فيها أول متر مكعب من مياه الحاصبائي فإننا سنقوم بتدمير الآلات، إن قضية الوزائي لا تحتاج إلى مفاوضات واتصالات وإنما دبابة تقوم بتدمير المنشات اللبنائية على النبع".

أطماع مائية في الحرب الحائية هذه التصريحات النارية قد يفهم منها أنها جزء من حرب نفسية أو دعائية هذه التصريحات النارية قد يفهم منها أنها جزء من حرب نفسية أو دعائية الإثناء البنان عن التصرف في مياهه كيفها يريد، ولكنها تعكس فضلا عن ذلك ما تمثله قضية المياه من أهمية إستر اتيجية الإسر اليلية كما تبدى من الاستعراض هذه القضية هو الخيار الأول لدى القيادة الإسر اليلية كما تبدى من الاستعراض التاريخي السابق، وهو ما يجعل كذلك الأوامر التي أصدرتها إسرائيل عبر المنشورات التي القتها على أهالي قرى الجنوب اللبناني منذ بداية الحرب الحالية وحتى الأن الداعية إلى تركيم لمنازلهم حتى ما بعد اللبطائي، تأخذ أبعادا الستراتيجية كبيرة تستحق التامل ولا تتوقف فقط عند بعدها الصكري والأمني.

الجزيرة نت المصادر:

Lebanon Rivers and Lakes, U.S. Library of Congress http://countrystudies.us/lebanon/32.htm Map of the major rivers in Lebanon

http://www.fao.org/waicent/FaoInfo/Agricult/agl/swlwpnr reports/y_nr/z_lb/

lbmp311.htm/

البعد المائيي في الصراع العربي. الإسرائيلي، وليد خليل زياري، أستاذ إدارة الموارد المائية، جامعة الخليج العربي، صحيقة الوسط، مملكة البحرين، قضاايا وأراء، 16 يوليو/تموز 2006.

المصدر: الجزيرة

عودة الى الصفحة الرئيسية



تطبقات القراء mohammad اسرائيل والمياه الثبنائية لايحق لاسرائيل ان تدخل فيمابغيرها من الدول

تحليلات | النظرير العوبي السنوي | كتب | أحداث و مناسبات | وجهات نظر | أزمات وحروب | أحداث العام | تفطيات 2009 | مللنات عاصة 2009

جميع حقوق النشر محفوظة 🧽 2000-2009 م (انظر اتفاقية استخدام الموقع)

APPENDIX G

Source: Al Jazeera Date: 4 August 2006 Author: al-Jazeera/agencies

URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/EC084303-49E4-4458-91E0-

AFAFA8DD5290.htm

Israel Bombs Bridges North of Beirut; Intensification of The Battles in the South

The Israeli warplanes launched new raids on various regions of Lebanese territory, most of which targeted bridges connecting the capitol Beirut with northern Lebanon; this resulted in the destruction of large parts of [the bridges].

The Al-Jazeera correspondent in Beirut stated that the Israeli planes launched a raid this morning on the Madfun bridge, one of the main bridges leading to northern Lebanon. [The correspondent] added that other Israeli planes launched similar raids on the Casino bridge in northern Lebanon and on the Maamalatain and Halat bridges north of Beirut, indicating that two Lebanese were killed and 12 others injured in these raids, according to the latest count. The correspondent confirmed that Israel may have begun what's become known as a War of Bridges to sever communications between Beirut and its outskirts and the rest of the other regions. He also said that a Lebanese soldier was killed in an Israeli raid on the Al-Awza'i area near the southern Beirut suburb of Al-Dahiya, and noted that the raid came as part of a series of serial raids on this suburb that targeted Hara Al-Harib and the Al-Awza'i area and other areas. The Israeli Air Force also dropped leaflets all day yesterday over Al-Dahiya calling on the people to evacuate their homes.

The correspondent said that other Israeli planes launched similar raids on the two areas of Al-Qalila and Al-Hanina in the Tyre province and on the Litani gorge in the Western Bekaa.

The Lebanese police stated that one of the raids targeted the Ibrahim Al-Al electrical power plant in Sahmar, 4km south of Lake Qaraoun on the Litani River dam. The bombing led to power being cut in the area according to the police, who were unable yet to report injuries or the size of the damage.

Commenting on these raids, the Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman Liur Ben Dur said that Israeli intends to destroy all targets of a military character in order to weaken Hezbollah. He alleged that Israel has eliminated many of Hezbollah's elements.

Land Battles

That comes when the number of Israeli soldiers killed in skirmishes with Hezbollah fighters in south Lebanon rose to four yesterday and another 25 were injured. Hezbollah said that it destroyed a number of Israeli tanks in these battles.

The Al-Jazeera correspondent said that the occupation forces penetrated three kilometers in Al-Rahrah area, then retreated under the effect of Hezbollah's strikes. He added that two Israeli tanks were destroyed during the confrontation. Hezbollah also announced the destruction of a Merkava tank and the killing of one of its crew.

The Israeli Army, which has about ten thousand of its soldiers taking part in the on-going operations, is trying to control three strategic hills and villages in the Southwest, Central and Eastern sectors in an attempt to establish a security zone. However, it faces fierce resistance by the fighters of Hezbollah.

The Resistance's Response

In return, the warriors of Hezbollah yesterday fired five salvos of Katyusha rockets into northern Israel, which killed eight people, including three Arabs, and wounded 55 others. The rockets also targeted settlements, including Kiryat Shimona , and the cities of Safed and Tiberias and Acre and Rosh Pina. The rockets also hit various areas in the occupied Syrian Golan for the first time since the outbreak of the war.



وقال المراسل إن طائرات إسرائيلية أخرى شنت غارات مماثلة على منطقتي القليلة والحنينة في قضاء صور رعلى وادي الليطاني البقاع الغربي.

وأوضحت الشرطة اللبنانية أن إحدى هذه الغارات استهدفت محطة إبراهيم العال لنوليد الكبرياء في سحمر التي تقع على بعد أربعة كيلومترات حنوب بحيرة القرعون على سد نهر الليطاني،

وأدى القصف إلى القطاع التيار الكهربائي عن المنطقة وفق الشرطة التي لم تتمكن بعد من الإفادة عن وقوع إصابات أو عن حجم الأضرار.

وتعليقا على هذه الخارات فال المتحدث باسم الخارجية الإسرائيلية لئور بن دور إن إسرائيل مصممة على تدمير كل أهداف ذات طابع عسكري من أجل إضعاف حزب الله، وزعم أن إسرائيل قضت على التثير من عناصر هذا الحزب.

A

معارك برية يأتي ذلك في وقت ارتفع فيه عدد الجنود الإسرائيليين الذين قتلوا في اشتياكات أمس مع مقاتلي حزب الله في الجنوب اللبناني إلى أربعة قتلى, فيما أصيب 15 أخرون بجروح. وقال حزب الله إنه دمر عددا من الدبابات الإسرائيلية في هذه المعارك.





جنود إسرائيليون يتمركزون في موقع قريب من جنوب ثينان (افرنسة)

ويسعى الجيش الإسرائيلي الذي يشارك حوالي عشرة ألاف من جنوده في العطيات الدائرة إلى السيطرة على الثلاثة الدائرة إلى السيطرة على ثلاثة تلال إسترائيجية وقرى في القطاعات الثلاثة للجنوب الغربي والأوسط والشرقي في مسعى لإقامة منطقة أمنية، إلا أنه يواجه بمقاومة شرسة من قبل مقاتلي حزب الله.

رد المقاومة وفي المقابل أطلق مقاتلو حزب الله أسس خسس دفعات من صواريخ الكاتبوشيا على شمال إسر البل ما أسفر عن مقتل ثمانية أشخاص بينهم ثلاثة من العرب وجرح 55 آخرين.



واستهدفت الصواريخ أيضا مستوطنات بينها كريات شعونة,ومدن صفد وطبريا وعكا وروش بينا. كما أصابت الصواريخ مناطق

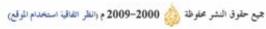
وعد وروس بيد. كما تصابت الصواريخ مناطق متفرقة في الجولان السوري المحتل لأول مرة منذ اندلاع الحرب.

A

المصدر: الجزيرة + وكالات



عربي | دولي | رياضة | نقاقة وفن | طب وصحة | منوعـــات | نقارير وحوارات | جولة الصحفة | كاريكاتير



2/25/2009

APPENDIX H

Source: Al Jazeera Date: 5 August 2006 Author: *Al-Jazeera+ agencies* URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/News/archive/archive?ArchiveID=334513

The Missiles Get Close to Tel Aviv and Israel Commits New Massacres

For the first time, the fighters of Hezbollah bombed the city of Hadera, 40km north of Tel Aviv. The Israeli police said that at least three missiles landed in the city this evening without harming anyone. Hadera, which is located about 80km from the border with Lebanon, is the most distant point within Israel that Hezbollah's missiles have reached since the start of the war on 12 July. Hezbollah said that the missiles that landed on Hadera are of the Khaybar-1 class.

The strike on Hadera came at the same time that the municipality of Tel Aviv announced that it is carrying out a large-scale inspection campaign of its anti-missile shelters after Hezbollah's threat to bomb the city. On last Wednesday, the Islamic Resistance bombed Beit She'an, over 60km from the border. Earlier Hezbollah had announced it had fired rockets at the central Israeli Air Force base in Ramat David in northern Israel. About 220 Katyusha rockets landed today on a number of Israeli cities and towns and settlements, which resulted in the death of 3 Arabs, including a woman, and the injuring of about 30 Israelis, including in Marj ben Amer.

The rockets struck the two Arab villages of Mugar and Majd al-Karoum, the cities of Safed, Karmiel, Tiberias and two military bases.

New Massacres

This development comes at a time when Israel has committed new massacres of civilians in the Bekaa plain and southern Lebanonon the 24th day of the attack; dozens were killed. In the most violent of the slaughters, 33 were killed and 12 injured in Israeli raids that targeted the Al-Qa'a region near the Syrian border. The Al-Jazeera correspondent in the Bekaa said that most of the victims were Syrian farm laborers who were eating lunch before finishing loading trucks with fruit in this area; he indicated that the killed and injured were transported to a hospital in the Syrian city of Hims.

The raids on the Bekaa coincided with the occupation forces' perpetration of another slaughter that claimed seven lives and injured 10 in a shelling that targeted a home in which civilians had taken refuge in the southern town of Al-Taiba, where there were battles between the Israeli occupation forces and the fighters of the Islamic Resistance belonging to Hezbollah. The shelling also targeted other homes in the town of Aita al-Shaab with civilians in them. There were conflicting figures regarding the number of victims; while Lebanese security sources indicated there were ten injured or killed, Associated Press mentioned that 57 people were buried in the rubble in Al-Taiba and Aita Al-Shaab.

The Israeli Air Force concentrated its raids this afternoon on the roads, bridges and villages in the Tyre and Sidon region of southern Lebanon. The bombing destroyed four bridges in the Kasrawan and Jubayl areas north of Beirut, in addition to the Al-

Awza'i region which is considered the southern gateway to the capitol Beirut; 5 people were killed and 15 others injured.

Land Battles

The Israeli massacres came with the escalation of the land battles on a number of axes in southern Lebanon, where the Israeli army advanced about 3km according to sources with the International Emergency Forces and the Lebanese police. Hezbollah announced that it had killed six Israeli soldiers near the villages of Markaba and Aita Al-Shaab in southern Lebanon, raising to ten the number of Israeli soldiers killed in two days. However the occupation forces admitted today the death of five of their soldiers and the wounding of two others.

Hezbollah indicated in a statement broadcast on its Al-Manar TV that its fighters had also destroyed a Merkava tank in the Aita Al-Shaab battles. In another development, Hezbollah sources confirmed that its fighters had destroyed an Israeli troop transport in the Rab Thalatheen area in south Lebanon, and killed or injured the crew.

In a related matter, Israeli TV said that the Army had decided this evening to expand its operations in southern Lebanon in order to reach 8km [into Lebanon] and that it would throw more forces into the area. An Army spokesperson said that the purpose of this land operation was to push the Hezbollah fighters back to north of the Litani River.

Page 1 of 3





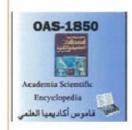
الأرشيف

Be part of our Success

السبت 1427/7/11 هـ - الموافق5/8/2006م (آخر تحديث) الساعة 0:48 (مكة المكرمة)، 21:48 (غريقتش)

الصفحة الرئيسية: الأرثيف الصفحة الرئيسية: الأرثيف الصفحة الرئيسية: الأرثيف الصفح الصفح الصفح المستخدمة المستخدم المستخدمة الم





والسلط المدنى الليناني المدنى

🗇 أهم أخبار الصنحة الرئيمية

مزيد من الغارات الاسرائيلية

عثى ضاحية بيروت الجتوبية

- اقتتاح محكمة الحريري ويلمار يتوقع تسلم الضباط الأربعة
- مقتل جندي أميركي والأمن العراقي يواصل ملاحقة الدايئي
- كلينتون تصل شرم الشيخ للمشاركة بمؤتمر إعادة إعمار غزة
- بالير يتققد غزة وأوالمرت يهدد المقاومة بــرد قاس*



ضحايا مجزرة القاع من العمال الموريين واللبقانيين (رويترز)

قصف مقاتلو حزب الله لأول مرة مدينة الخضيرة التي تبعد 40 كلم شمال تل أبيب. وقالت الشرطة الإسرائيلية إن 3 صواريخ على الأقل سقطت في المدينة مساء اليوم دون أن توقع إصابات.

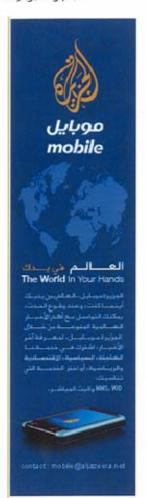
وتحد الخضيرة - التي تبعد نحو 80 كلم عن الحدود مع لبنان- أبعد نقطة في العمق الإسرائيلي تصلها صواريخ حزب الله منذ بدء الحرب في 12 يوليو /تموز الماضي. وقال حزب الله إن الصواريخ التي سقطت على الخضيرة من نوع خيبر 1.

وجاء ضرب الخضيرة في وقت أعلنت فيه بلدية تل أبيب أنها تقوم بحملة تفقد واسعة لملاجئها المضادة للصواريخ بعد تهديد حزب الله بقصف المدينة. وكانت المقاومة الإسلامية قصفت يوم الأربعاء الماضي بيسان على بعد أكثر من 60 كلم من الحده د.

وفي وقت سابق أعلن حزب الله قصفه بالصواريخ القاعدة المركزية لسلاح الجوي الإسرائيلي في رامات ديف شمالي إسرائيل. وسقط نحو 220 صاروخ كاليوشا اليوم على عدة مدن وقرى ومستوطنات إسرائيلية، مما أسفر عن مقتل 3 عرب بينهم امراة وجرح نحو 30 إسرائيليا 4 منهم في مرج بن عامر.

وقد ضربت الصواريخ قريتي المغار ومجد الكروم العربيتين، ومدن صقد وكرمئيل وطبوية وقاعدتين عسكريتين.

3/1/2009



مجازر جديدة وياتي هذا التطور فيما ارتكبت إسرائيل مجازر جديدة يحق المدنيين في سهل اليقاع والجنوب اللبناني في اليوم السك2 للعدوان راح ضحيتها عشرات القتلي.

وفي أعنف المجازر سقط 33 قتيلا و 12 جريحا في غارات إسرائيلية استهدفت منطقة القاع المتاخمة للحدود السورية.

تغطية خاصة وقال مراسل الجزيرة في البقاع إن معظم الضحايا من عمال المزارع السوريين الذين كانوا يتناولون الغداء بعدما أكملوا تحميل شاحنات يالفاكهة في هذه المنطقة، مشيرا إلى أن القتلي والمصابين تم نقلهم إلى مستشفى يمدينة حمص السورية.

وتزامنت الغارات على القاع مع ارتكاب قوات الاحتلال مجزرة أخرى راح ضحيتها 7 قتلى و10 جرحى في قصف استهدف منز لا لجأ اليه مدنيون في بلدة الطيبة بالجنوب، حيث تدور معارك بين قوات الاحتلال الإسرائيلي ومقاتلي المقاومة الإسلامية التابعة لحزب الله.

كما استهدف القصف منازل أخرى في بلدة عينًا الشعب فيها مدنيون تضاربت الأرقام بشأن حجم ضحاياها، فيينما أشارت مصادر أمنية لبنانية إلى سقوط 10 ضحاياً بين فتيل وجريح، ذكرت وكالة أسوشيند برس أن 57 شخصًا طُمروا تحت الانقاض في الطبية وعينا الشعب.

وقد كثف الطيران الإسرائيلي غاراته مساء اليوم على طرق وجسور وقرى بمنطقة صور وصيدا جنوب لبنان. وكان القصف دمر 4 جسور بمناطق كسروان وجبيل شمال بيروت بالإضافة إلى منطقة الأوزاعي التي تعد المدخل الجنوبي للعاصمة بيروت، ما أدى إلى مقتل 5 أشخاص وجرح 15 آخرين.

معارك برية وجاءت المجازر الإسرائيلية مع تصاعد

المعارك البرية على عدة محاور في جنوب لبنان حيث تقدم الجيش الإسرائيلي نحو 3 كلم، وفق مصادر قوات الطوارئ الدولية والشرطة اللبنانية.

وأعلن حرّب الله أنه قتل 6 جنود إسرائيليين قرب قريتي مركبا وعيتا الشعب جنوب البنان، ليرتفع إلى 10 عدد قتلي الجيش الإسرائيلي خلال يومين. إلا أن قوات الاحتلال إعترفت اليوم بمقتل 5 من إسرائيل تسعى لنوسيع عطياتها بجنوب لينان جنودها وجرح أخرين.



حتى عمق 8 كلم (رويترز)

وأشار الحزب في بيان بث على تلفزيون المنار التابع له إلى أن مقاتليه دمروا كذلك دباية ميركافا في معارك عيتا الشعب. وفي تطور آخر ذكرت مصادر في الجزب أن مقاتليه دمروا ناقلة جند إسرائيلية بمنطقة رب ثلاثين جنوب لبنان، وأوقعوا طاقمها بين قتيل وجريح.

في سياق متصل قال التلفزيون الإسرائيلي إن الجيش قرر مساء اليوم توسيع عملياته في جنوب لبنان بهدف الوصول إلى عمق 8 كلم وأنه سيزج بمزيد من القوات في المنطقة.

وقالت متحدثة باسم الجيش إن هدف هذه العملية البرية دفع مقاتلي حزب الله إلى الشمال لما بعد نهر الليطاني.

المصدر: الجزيرة + وكالات

http://www.aljazeera.net/News/archive/archive?ArchiveId=334513

عوبي | دولي | رياضة | ثقافة وفن | طب وضحة | منوعسات | تقاوير وحوارات | جولة الصحافة | كاريكاتير

جمع حقوق النشر محفوظة 🚵 2000-2009 م (انظر اتفاقية استخدام الموقع)

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APPENDIX I

Source: Al Jazeera Date: 9 August 2006 Author: *al-Jazeera/agencies* URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/News/archive/archive/ArchiveId=334892

Four Israeli Soldiers Dead, and Hezbollah Repels an Attack in the South

Four Israeli soldiers died and about 40 others were wounded in battles in southern Lebanon. On another note, Hezbollah said that this morning its fighters blocked two attempts by the Israeli forces to advance towards the outskirts of the town of Al-Qantara in southern Lebanon, resulting in dozens injured among the Israeli ranks and the destruction of a tank. Hezbollah also announced the destruction of three tanks along with information about big losses in the Israeli ranks in yesterday's confrontations at Bint Jubayl. That came after information from the Al-Jazeera correspondent that an Israeli force had advanced on [Al-Mouhaysiba] hill overlooking the border town of Al-Qantara, coinciding with a similar advance on the Al-Taiba Project in the Marjayoun district. The correspondent indicated that the battles today are a sign of the Israeli attack's move from the central sector to the eastern sector.

The Israeli Army had no comment on the situation; however, it did announce today that two of its soldiers were killed and 15 others injured yesterday in Bint Jubayl [in fighting] with Hezbollah fighters, which increases the number of Israelis killed that day to four. It appears that the battles of Bint Jubayl and adjacent Debel were extremely fierce; information indicated that 40 Israeli soldiers were casualties. The Al-Jazeera correspondent in Haifa noted that the Israeli Army was unable last night to evacuate 20 wounded soldiers from Bint Jubayl, adding that they were transported today to the Rambam Hospital in Haifa.

Hezbollah announced yesterday that its battles with the Israeli Army in southern Lebanon led to the death or injury of 16 Israeli soldiers and the destruction of 8 tanks. Today's developments were accompanied by a heavy shelling of the town of Al-Khiam, close to Marjayoun, according to the Al-Jazeera correspondent in Tyre.

Kiryat Shemona

Following that, Hezbollah resumed its bombardment of the city of Kiryat Shemona where the Al-Jazeera correspondent said 8 missiles had landed, after there had been a respite from the shelling during the night. The correspondent said that the Israeli authorities had begun to prepare to safeguard 20,000 residents of the settlement and move them away from the areas of the missile impacts. He explained that 5,000 of the inhabitants were still in shelters.

Later information noted that missiles fell today on the border between the West Bank town of Janeen and the city of Beit She'an in the Jordan valley. Hezbollah had targeted Beit She'an about a week ago with Khaybir-1 missiles.

The Chief of Staff of the Israeli Army tasked his deputy Moshe Kaplinsky as of yesterday with coordinating the operations against Hezbollah; many Israeli commentators consider him unsatisfied with the performance of General Udi Adam, commander of the Northern Military Region. The diminished Israeli Security Government is studying expanding the operations in Lebanon, despite the intensive talks in the [UN] Security Council to discuss the possibility of a cease-fire.

Ayn Al-Helwa and Mashgara

The Israeli Air Force intensified its bombardment throughout Lebanon on the 29th day of the aggression, and targeted the Ayn Al-Helwa camp for Palestinian refugees for the first time, resulting in deaths and injuries.

Israeli warships targeted Ayn Al-Helwa, outside of Sidon. The Al-Jazeera correspondent in the city said that the warships fired two shells at a garden belonging to the camp's Fatah militia commander Munir Al-Maqdah, which resulted in two people being killed, six injured and the destruction of dozens of homes.

In Mashgara, located in the western Bekaa, the Israeli Air Force launched a raid on the home of a Hezbollah official in the town and on a nearby Lebanese Army roadblock. Killed in the raid were six members of the family of the official, named Ahmed Sadr, and he was injured. Rescue teams were able to pull out the bodies of four of them from the rubble of the house.

The Israeli Air Force resumed its raids on the Akkar region at dawn; it targeted convoys moving fuel and bridges, including the Arka bridge which was bombed a week before. It also launched raids on the area of [Jaroud] and Hermel in the north Bekaa; losses as a result of the raids were not known.

A Lebanese security source said that yesterday the Israeli aircraft shelled tanker trucks carrying fuel and produce trucks near the Syrian border on the [Fara'i] highway in eastern Lebanon, which led to the death of five of their drivers.

Page 1 of 3





لقي أربعة جنود إسر اليليين حقهم وأصيب نحو أربعين أخرين بمعارك في الجنوب اللبنائي. من جهة ثانية قال حزب الله إن مقاتليه تصدو اصباح اليوم لمحاولتي تقدم للقوات الإسرائيلية صوب أطراف بلدة الققطرة جنوب لبنان، مما أسفر عن وقوع عشر إصابات بصفوف الإسرائيليين وتدمير دبابة.

كما أعلن الحزب اللبنائي تدمير ثلاث دبابات وسط معلومات عن خسائر كبيرة بصغوف الإسرائيليين في مواجهات أمس ببنت جبيل.

جاء ذلك بعد معلومات لمراسل الجزيرة بأن قوة إسرائيلية تقدمت على تلة المحبسبة المشرفة على قرية القنطرة الحدودية بالترامن مع تقدم مماتل على مشروع الطيبة بقضاء مرجهون.

وأشار المراسل الى أن معارك اليوم تؤشر الى انتقال الهجوم الإسرائيلي من القطاع الأوسط الى الشرقي.

ولم يعلق الجيش الاسر البلي فورا على الوضع إلا أنه أعلن اليوم أن التين من جنوده قتلا وأصيب 15 أخرون خلال الأمس ببنت جبيل مع مقاتلي الحزب، مما يرفع عدد قتلاه في ذلك اليوم إلى أربعة.

3/1/2009

بي سي للقضاء

الأخبار - الأرشيف Page 2 of 3

> ويبدو أن معارك بنت جبيل وديل المجاورة كانت في منتهى الضراوة حيث أشارت ويبو من معرف بيما جيس ودين المجاورة خالف في منتهى الصداوة خليف السارة المعلومات إلى إصابة 40 جنديا إسرائيليا. وذكر مراسل الجزيرة في حيفا أن الجيش الإسرائيلي لم يتمكن ليلة أمس من إخلاء 20 جنديا أصبيوا في بنت جبيل مضيفا أنهم نقلوا اليوم إلى مستشفى رامبام في حيفا.

وكان حزب الله قد أعلن أمس أن معاركه مع الجيش الإسرائيلي في الجنوب أدت الى مقتل وجرح 16 جنديا إسرائيليا وتدمير ثماني دبابات.

وتر افقت تطورات اليوم -حسب مراسل الجزيرة في صور - مع قصف مكثف على يلدة الخيام القريبة من مرجعيون.

كريات شموتة

في غضون ذلك جدد حزب الله قصفه لمدينة كريات شمونة (الخالصة) حيث أشار مراسل الجزيرة إلى سقوط ثمانية

صواريخ عليها بعد أن شهد القصف هدوءا خلال الليل. حزب الله جدد قصف كريات شموثة

وتحضيرات لتهجير سكاتها إرويترز) و أفاد المراسل أن السلطات الإسرائيلية وخصيرات للهجير سكفها (ديرز) يدأت التحضير لتأمين 20 ألغا من سكان المستوطنة المذكورة وإبعادهم عن مناطق سقوط الصواريخ، موضحا أن خمسة ألاف من سكانها الازالوا موجودين بالملاجئ.

وذكرت معلومات لاحقة أن صواريخ سقطت اليوم على الحدود بين جنين الواقعة شمال الضفة الغربية ومدينة بيسان في غور الأردن. وكان حرّب الله قد استهدف بيسان قبل نحو أسبوع بصواريخ من طراز خيبر 1.

في السياق كلف رئيس أركان الجيش الإسرائيلي مساعده موشي كايليسكي ابتداء من يوم أمس بتنسيق العمليات ضد حزب الله, مما اعتبره كثير من المعلقين الإسرائيليين عدم رضا عن أداء الجنرال عودي آدم قائد المنطقة العسكرية

وتدرس الحكومة الأمنية الإسرائيلية المصغرة اليوم توسيع العمليات في لبغان, رغم مباحثات مكلفة بمجلس الأمن ليحث إمكانية وقف إطلاق الذار.

عين الحلوة ومشغرة حين الحدود ومسعود في هذه الأثناء كنف الطيران الحربي الإسرائيلي قصفه لأنحاء متفرقة من لبنان في اليوم التاسع والعشرين للعدوات، واستهدف مخيم عين الحلوة الفلسطيني الأول مرة مما أوقع قتلي وجرحي.

واستهدفت البوارج الحربية الإسرائيلية البوم مخيم عين الحلوة القريب من صيدا. وقال موفد الجزيرة إلى المدينة إن البوارج اطلقت قذيفتين على روضة تابعة لمسؤول مليشيا فتح بالمخيم منير المقدح مما أدى إلى مقتل شخصين وجرح ستة وتهديم عشرات المنازل.

وفي مشغرة الواقعة بالبقاع الغربي، شن الطيران الإسرائيلي غارة على منزل ممدول بعزب الله في بلدة مشغرة بالبقاع الغربي وعلى حاجر قريب للجيش

وقتل في الغارة ستة من أفراد عائلة المسؤول ويدعي أحمد صادر وأصبب هو بجراح. وتمكنت فرق الإنقاذ من انتشال جثث أربعة منهم من تحت أنقاض المنزل.

واستأنف الطيران الحربي الإسرائيلي غاراته على منطقة عكار فجرا، حيث استهدف قوافل تنقل وقودا وجسورا بينها





جسر عرقا الذي قصف قبل أسبوع. 2000 قنيقة سقطت على الغيام ومعارك شرسة بالقطاع الشرقي ادبائذ! كما شن غار ات على منطقة جرود الهرمل شمال البقاع، دون أن يتصح حجم الخسائر الناجمة عنها.

وذكر مصدر أمنى لبناتي أن الطائرات الإسرائيلية قصفت أمس صهاريج نتقل محروقات وشاحنات خضار بالقرب من الحدود السورية على طريق فرعي شرق لبنان، مما أدى إلى مقتل خمسة من سائقيها.

المصدر: الجزيرة + وكالات

عربي | دولي | رياضة | ثقافة وفن | طب وصحة | منوعـــات | تقارير وحوارات | جولة الصحافة | كاريكاتير

جميع حقوق النشر محفوظة 🍻 2000-2009م وانظر اتفاقية استخدام الموقع)

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APPENDIX J

Source: Al Jazeera Date: 17 August 2006 Author: *Ali Gamdhan—Beirut* URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/9E0C5EDA-ECAC-4C2C-87DO-F8864D5443EE.htm

Southern Al-Dahiya- A Story of Destruction and Hope and Resistance

The fame of the south Beirut suburb of Al-Dahiya—headquarters of Hezbollah—has reached all parts of the world and has begun to compete in terms of fame with Hiroshima and Nagasaki; they are all united by the common denominators of destruction, victims and the odor of death.

One stands dumbstruck, and words are incapable of describing the horror of the scene. The destruction is enormous—bridges fallen, buildings consumed by flames, and everything is shock and numbness, and then one almost comes recovers from the shock, only to fall victim to another one.

Al-Ruwais Street is witness to the latest chapters of the attack, and it has its latest fingerprints upon it. The eyes of the people look right and left, waiting in the silence to hear news of their loved ones and relatives, still beneath the rubble and debris of the buildings after a week. They cling to hope, even if it's an illusion.

Pain and Hope

Abu Mohammed sits on a porch near the rubble, almost unable to feel those around him; his father, brother and nephew were in their apartment before Israel launched the most violent raid on Al-Dahiya last Sunday. Abu Mohammed says that his father had to go to meet his friend (who survived the slaughter)—he went to the apartment to get something, and never came back out of it.

Ali Bizza was a witness to the massacre, when he was sitting in his shop across from the plaza of the Imam al-Hassan complex, targeted [in the raid.] He says that he was listening to the news when the electricity had returned. When the power came back, some of the people who were taking refuge in one of the shelters under the complex came out to gather some things to eat and to clean their apartments and to bathe.

He adds that it was the afternoon; in a sudden raid, the planes bombed the residential complex and completely destroyed it in seconds, killing 60 people including ten children who were playing in the complex's playground.

A second witness said that since starting to comb the complex and clear the destruction, he has discovered just two bodies, one of whom was just in pieces, and the other was complete. He indicated that the remains of the bodies still beneath the rubble have awful smells coming from them and might be harmful.

Compensation

In a place not far from the square of the latest massacre, specifically in Hara Hareek, there was another scene but this time stirring hope. The compensation committees which the General Secretary of Hezbollah Hassan Nasrallah announced in his last speech went directly to work.

Abu Mohammed Shamada, one of the officials of those committees, said that Al-Dahiya was divided up into ten centers to receive the victims that work to count their numbers so that they can be materially compensated later for the loss of their possessions. He added that here are two kinds of damages to the buildings; they have either been partially or fully destroyed. The compensation is made according to that—specific sums are paid to reside in an alternative location, or the home or apartment is repaired, as the serviceability commission determines. He also indicated that roughly half of the victims from about 7,000 destroyed housing units had registered their names and that in the coming days they will receive the compensation amounts.

Al-Manar's Resistance

The Al-Manar channel is in the same Hara Hareek. Another means of resistance, after its insistence on continuing to transmit nonstop during the period of the aggression. It has just returned to broadcast again from its headquarters, but this time from beneath the heaps of it.

The announcer Mohammed Sherri says that the idea of broadcasting from beneath the rubble of the channel's building was born after people began flocking to visit the headquarters. The officials at the channel decided to put up the tables and set up the cameras in the same plaza and conduct the interviews live from above the destruction.

The announcer of the show "This Morning" Zaynib 'Awada and the program's preparer Amal Shabib both confirmed that after their program had stopped broadcasting during the period of the war, they both became field correspondents that hit various areas of Lebanon. The two of them added that the message of Al-Manar is the message of the resistance and therefore the location doesn't matter, pointing out that the channel's administration decided to allocate a mobile studios during the coming period to roam throughout the country to show the destruction and the effects of the attack to the entire world.

3/1/2009



http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/9E0C5EDA-ECAC-4C2C-87D0-F8864D5443EE.htm

أما على بزة فكان شاهدا على المجزرة، حيث جلس في دكانه المقابل لساحة مجمع الإمام الحسن المستهدف. يقول إنه كان يستمع للأخبار عندما عاد التيار الكهربائي، ومع عودته صعد بعض الأهالي الذين كانوا يحتمون بأحد الملاجئ تحت المجمع لجمع بعض حاجيات الأكل ولننظيف شققهم والاستحمام.

وأضاف أنه في العصر وفي غارة مفاجئة قصفت الطائرات المجمع السكني فدمرته بالكامل في ظرف ثوان معدودة مودية بحياة نحو 60 شخصا عشرة منهم أطفال كاتوا يلعبون في ملعب المجمع.

شاهد أخر قال إنه منذ بدء تمشيط المجمع وتجريف الدمار عثر على جثتين فقط إحداهما كانت عبارة عن أشلاء والأخرى كانت كاملة, مشيرا إلي أن بقايا الجثث التي لا تزال تحت الأنقاض تنبعث منها روائح كريهة وقد تكون مضرة.

تعويض

في مُكَانَ غير بعيد عن ساحة المجزرة الأخيرة, وتحديدا في حارة حريك كان هناك مشهد أخير لكنه هذه المرة بيعث على الأمل. لجان التّعويضات التي أعلن عنها الأمين العام لحزب الله حسن نصر الله في أخر خطاب له شرعت في مباشرة عملها.

أبو محمد شمادة أحد مسؤولي تلك اللجان قال إنه تم تقسيم الضاحية إلى عشرة مرَّاكُز لاِسْتَقْبَالُ المتضرَّريينُ, تعملُ علي إحصاء أعدادهم ليتم تعويضهم لاحقا ماديا عن كل الخسائر التي لحقت بممتلكاتهم.



مجموعة من سكان حارة حريك يسجلون أسماءهم لتلقى التعويضات (دوزيرة نت)

وأضناف شمادة أن هناك نوعين من الأضرار بالعباني فهي إما مدمرة جزئيا وإما كليا، وأن التعويض يتم وفقا لذلك بحيث يتم تقديم مبالغ معينة للسكن في مكان بديل أو يتم ترميم المغزل أو الشقة بحسب ما تخلص إليه لجنة الصلاحية.

كما أشار إلى أن نصف المتضررين تقريبا من نحو سبعة ألاف وحدة سكنية مدمرة قد سجلوا أسماءهم وأنهم في الأيام المقبلة سيستلمون مبالغ التعويضات.

صمود المثار قِناة المثار بنفس جارة حريك. صورة أخرى من صور الصمود, فيعد اصرارها على مواصلة بثها خلال فترة العدوان دون توقف. ها هي تعود ثانية للبث من مقرها لكن هذه المرة من تحت ركامها.

يقول المذيع محمد شري إن فكرة البث من تحت القاض مبنى القناة تولدت بعد بدء تواقد الناس لزيارة المقر, عندها قرر القائمون على القناة وضع الطاو لات ونصب الكاميرات بنفس الساحة وإجراء الحوارات المباشرة من فوق الدمار.



المذيعة بقناة المنار زينب عواضة إسن) والمعدة أمل شبيب (الجزيرة نت)

أما مذيعة برنامج هذا الصعاح زينب عواضة ومعدة البرنامج أمل شبيب فأكدتا أنه بعد توقف بث برنامجهما خلال فترة الحرب تحولتا إلى مراسلتين ميدانيتين جالتا مختلف مناطق لبنان.

وأضافتا أن رسالة القناة هي رسالة "مقاومة" وبالتالي لا يهم المطرح. مشيرتين إلى أن إدارة القناة قررت تخصيص ستوديو منتقل خلال الفنرة القادمة مهمته الطواف بارجاء البلاد لإظهار الدمار واثار العدوان للعالم كله.

موفد الجزيرة نت

APPENDIX K

Source: Al Jazeera Date: 7 August 2006 Author:

URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/B62CE665-873A-4D3D-A30C-

E48C92D3B7E8.htm

Summaries of Speeches by Nasrallah during the Sixth War:

Speech One—12 July 2006:

The Secretary General of Hezbollah Hassan Nasrallah appeared at a press conference to speak about the circumstances of an operation which targeted a border farming settlement on 12 July 2006 and which resulted in the capture of two Israeli soldiers and the killing of eight soldiers and the wounding of 21 others. Nasrallah announced at the conference Hezbollah's conditions for the release of the prisoners. He also responded to journalists' questions about the exigencies of the operation and its timing and Hezbollah's preparations to respond if Israel launched a war to retrieve them. He also vowed to surprise the Israelis militarily. Nasrallah affirmed that the two prisoners were in a safe place, and they would not be turned over to Israel except by one means, that being "the indirect negotiation and the mutual exchange" of prisoners in the occupation prisons.

Speech Two—14 July 2006:

In a voice message that Hezbollah's Al-Manar television broadcast, the Secretary General of Hezbollah Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah announced [Hezbollah's] readiness to enter into an open war with Israel which was attacking Lebanon and bombing it from the land, sea and air. Two days after the [start] of the Israeli attack on Lebanon, Nasrallah indicated the war would "reach beyond Haifa" located in northern Israel, and which Nasrallah threatened to target. In the message, Nasrallah addressed the Lebanese who were devastated by the destruction of their infrastructure by saying that Hezbollah's friends (without naming them) would help them in rebuilding. He affirmed that Hezbollah's military and leadership structure were still intact. He ended his message by calling for carefully considering the truth of the talk about surprises by watching the strike [on] one of the Israeli warships off of Beirut.

Speech Three—21 July 2006:

The Secretary General of Hezbollah Hassan Nasrallah appeared on an interview on the Al-Jazeera channel on the ninth day of the war. The meeting came after Hezbollah had bombarded the city of Haifa, one of the biggest Israeli cities, thereby exceeding the usual targets which Hezbollah was accustomed to targeting since before the April 1996 understanding. Nasrallah said that Hezbollah's leadership structure was undamaged following the Israeli raids which targeted Lebanon, denying what Israeli officials had said about the destruction of 50% of Hezbollah's capabilities. He vowed that Hezbollah would offer more surprises in the coming days.

Speech Four—29 July 2006:

The Secretary General of Hezbollah Hassan Nasrallah strove in a speech broadcast by Al-Manar TV to reassure the [people] of the Lebanese interior, expressing that the victory would be for all of Lebanon and its regions and factions and emphasizing that Hezbollah was confident of victory in the current conflict with Israel. Nasrallah's speech came after the Lebanese resistance was able to drive the Israeli forces from villages they had occupied in the border strip in southern Lebanon. Nasrallah stressed the national unity in Lebanon between its various factions. Nasrallah said that "the current attempts to look for ways out of the crisis are among the blessings of the fabled battlefield staying power of the whole of Lebanon, with all its factions."

Speech Five—3 August 2006

The Secretary General of Hezbollah Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah threatened in a speech televised by Al-Manar TV and simulcast by the Al-Jazeera channel to shell Tel Aviv if the Israeli attack targeted the Lebanese capitol Beirut, reaffirming that the Israeli army had not achieved any real accomplishment in the field and that the resistance, with the courage of its people, was the one which had realized a military miracle in opposing [the Israeli army].

Nasrallah spoke to the Lebanese and the Arab and Islamic and Christian peoples, saying that the American administration would bear the responsibility for the slaughter and destruction occurring now, and that Israel was nothing more than a tool to achieve that. Nasrallah stated that whatever the result of the war, Lebanon would not be American or Israeli or a place in the new Middle East for Washington to propagandize.

Speech Six—9 August 2006

The Secretary General of the Hezbollah said that Hezbollah will not obstruct any decision that the Lebanese government deems appropriate regarding the carrying out of UN Security Council Resolution number 1701. He clarified in a speech carried by Al-Manar TV that the Hezbollah ministers in the government would register their reservations about the resolution. The Hezbollah Secretary General said that "if not for the endurance of the resistance and the people and the political powers and the state with all its institutions, we would today be facing terrible results." Nasrallah cautioned the Lebanese against acting as if the war was over lest the resistance be taken by surprise." He said that the Lebanese were still in need of solidarity during the next phase. If Israel felt that it would not be able to achieve its goals, then it would not give up Lebanon. He said "we must confront coming dangers with national unity."

Speech Seven—14 August 2006

The Secretary General of Hezbollah Hassan Nasrallah said in a televised speech on the A-Manar channel that the resistance had achieved for an historical and strategic victory

for Lebanon and the [Arab] nation over Israel, indicating that the Israeli government had opened investigations into "its defeat" in Lebanon. Nasrallah touched on the future of the weapons of the resistance and directed sharp criticisms at those who would open this issue at the current time, describing their position as unethical. Regarding the Lebanese army, he said that it was unable to protect Lebanon at present, and the same thing applied to the international forces. Nasrallah pointed out that [Hezbollah] would immediately begin the process of rebuilding and would not wait for "the government mechanisms which will take time."



الاثنين 1427/7/13 هـ - الموافق200/8/7 م (أخر تحديث) الساعة 15:48 (مكة المكرمة)، 12:48 (غرينتش)

الصفحة الرئيسية: تغطيات 2006: خطابات نصر الله في الحرب السادسة



http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/B62CE665-873A-4D3D-A30C-E48C92D3B7E8.htm

3/8/2009



الاثنين 1427/7/13 هـ - الموافق 2006/8/7 م (آخر تحديث) الساعة 15:48 (مكة المكرمة)، 12:48 (غريقتش)

الصقحة الرئيسية: تغطيات 2006: خطايات نصر الله في الحرب السادسة





الاثنين 1427/7/13 هـ - الموافق 2006/8/7 م (آخر تحديث) الساعة 15:48 (مكة المكرمة)، 12:48 (غريقتش)

الصقحة الرئيسية: تغطيات 2006: خطابات نصر الله في الحرب السادسة





الاثنين 1427/7/13 هـ - الموافق 2006/8/7 م (آخر تحديث) الساعة 15:48 (مكة المكرمة)، 12:48 (غريتنثن)

الصقحة الرئيسية: تغطيات 2006: خطابات تصر الله في الحرب السائسة





الاثنين 1427/7/13 هـ - الموافق 2006/8/7 م (آخر تحديث) الساعة 15:48 (مكة المكرمة)، 12:48 (غريقتش)

الصقعة الرئيسية: تغطيات 2006: خطايات تصر الله في الحرب السائسة





الاثنين 1427/7/13 هـ - الموافق 2006/8/7 م (آخر تحديث) الساعة 15:48 (مكة المكرمة)، 12:48 (غرينتش)

الصفحة الرئيسية: تغطيات 2006: خطايات نصر الله في الحرب السادسة





الاثنين 1427/7/13 هـ - الموافق 2006/8/7 م (آخر تحديث) الساعة 15:48 (مكة المكرمة)، 12:48 (غريقتش)

الصقحة الرئيسية: تغطيات 2006: خطابات تصر الله في الحرب السادسة



APPENDIX L

Source: Al Manar Date: 15 August 2008 Author: not given

URL: http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=53526

The July Aggression: The Enemy Loses the Field and the Respect of the Army and the Media

The events of the July 2006 aggression against Lebanon, in all their details, formed phases that inverted the goals of the enemy's leaders and demonstrated the weakness of their field strategy. The Zionist army seemed forlorn and defeated spiritually and exhausted due to the lack of confidence in its leadership, and it faltered before the military and psychological war of the Islamic resistance, whose use of the winning cards created a helpful weight in the internal political arena. After the enemy's use of the operation to capture the two Zionist soldiers as a pretext for its real purpose, which was "to eliminate Hezbollah," and as a result of its practical, strategic and psychological unpreparedness for all-out war, it gave the okay for the bombing and destruction in the south, in the southern [suburb] of Al-Dahiya and in the Bekaa. However, it did not take into account the background, on the basis of which the resistance would operate, and what surprises and weapons and military plans it concealed.

Despite the Beirut-suburb of Al-Dahiya's being subject to the daily raids, particularly the area of Hara Hareek, the "Ra'ad" rockets which reached Haifa on 16 July 2006 were a factor affecting the course of the war. The "Fajr" missiles reached deep into the state, such as the areas of Afula, Hadera and Beit She'an, without anti-missile systems stopping them.

The distinctive factor clearly appeared in the Lebanese field, where the Zionists wanted to realize "some accomplishment" after the "air routine." So the enemy troop and their tanks, led by the Merkava, entered. They were subject to what they described as "Hell's ambushes." The Merkava, called the "Pride of Israeli Industry," was destroyed and lost its fearsome reputation in the battles of Aitaroun, Maroun and Bint Jubail in the south.

The second Qana massacre, which the enemy perpetrated in 2006, didn't make any points in its favor in the psychological and media war, which the resistance's media had shown a mastery of during the attack. Indeed, it reflected negatively on the Zionist government through the international condemnations of the massacre.

In light of that, there came a new and different response to the occupation's daily massacres. The Israeli Navy paid a price from its structure, after an advanced missile in the resistance's arsenal targeted a "Sa'ar-5" warship and destroyed part of it and killed four of its sailors. The General Secretary of Hezbollah Hassan Nasrallah announced this surprise in his famous live telephone message over the Al-Manar channel.

While the war continued strongly, and with it the bombing and the destruction by the enemy aircraft and warships, it was met with Lebanese resistance and opposition. The speeches of Mr Nasrallah during the aggression, in which he addressed the Lebanese and Zionist populace, stand out. The majority of the Zionist base said they believed the words of Mr Nasrallah more than the President of their government, Ehud Olmert.

The equation which the General Secretary of Hezbollah laid out proved its usefulness (specifically: Beirut for Tel Aviv) when he announced "if you bomb our capitol, we will bomb the capitol of your usurper state." This caused alarm amongst the media of the [Zionist] entity in how to deal with this threat, and made the Zionist military leaders retreat from their plans to bomb the Lebanese capitol.

As for the eight speeches of Mr Nasrallah, they had their intended affect amongst the military and political circles of [Israel], due to their connection to the people of the resistance and its media in Lebanon and the Arab world and beyond. The settlers also considered them balanced regarding the extent of their soldiers' success in the mission with which they had been entrusted.

For its part, the Al-Manar channel continued to shock the enemy's media by continuing its live broadcast, even after the rockets of the enemy aircraft destroyed its main building, and too through its showing of Mr Nasrallah's speeches, and its ability to [present] the "definitive picture" which carried the realities of the resistance's superiority in the land war against the invading soldiers.

The final aspect of the conflict corresponding to the military victory is the political factor. Despite the position of the Siniora Government at that time which was irresponsible and unsupportive of the resistance and its role in the decision and the execution, the mutual understanding between Hezbollah and the Free National Current contributed greatly in protecting the resistance's back and defeating the usurper entity's gamble on dissension and fracturing between the Lebanese.

The enemy was worn out in the field and its media had failed to show the destruction which its military machine had trailed behind it in Lebanon, as a victory, while the Lebanese resisted and offered up the thousands of martyrs and wounded, as opposed to the Zionists whose morale was weakened with the fall of [every Israeli soldier]. Following that, the UN Security Council Resolution 1701 issued on 14 August 2006 stopped the "military actions" and helped the Zionist entity which had been compelled to attack by the American administration.

Shortly after it had been issued, the resolution revealed the losses in soldiers and vehicles that the enemy had sustained in southern Lebanon and in the Zionist homeland as well. The Lebanese who had fled returned to the villages and cities in the first hours, the first moments after the announcement of the resolution, while the enemy acknowledged through the media the tactical and strategic superiority of Hezbollah

during the war, and its ability to achieve success in the public political prestige in its country, and the aforementioned resolution, achieving divine victory.



3/1/2009

والوجه الآخر للصراع المرادف للإنتصار العسكري هو العامل السياسي. فبرغم موقف حكومة السنيورة أنذاك المتفلت من المسؤولية وغير الداعم لحق المقاومة ودورها في القرار والتنفيذ، ساهم التفاهم بين حزب الله والتيار الوطني الحر إلى حد بعيد في حماية ظهر المقاومة، وإفشال رهان الكيان الغاصب على فتنة وشرخ بين اللَّبنانيين. وأنهك العدو في الميدات واخفق إعلامه في تصوير الدمار الذي خلفته آلته الحربية في لبنان على أنه نصر، في حين صمد اللبنانيون وقدموا ألاف الشهداء والجرحى يخلاف الصهاينة الذين أضعف معنوباتهم سقوط ضحايا بينهم. وإثر ذلك، أوقف القرار 1701 الصادر عن مجلس الأمن الدولي في 14 أب/أغسطس 2006 "الأعمال الحربية"، وأسعف الكيان الصهيوني المرغم على عدوانه من قبل الإدارة الأميركية.

وكشف القرار عقب صدوره بفترة قصيرة عن الحسائر التي تكبدها العدو في صفوف جنوده وآلياته جنوب لبنان، وفي الداخل الصهيوني أيضاً، وعاد النازحوت اللبنانيون إلى قراهم ومدنهم منذ الساعات الاولى لا بل اللحظات الاولى لاعلان القرار، بينما اعترف العدو عبر إعلامه بتفوق حزب الله تكتيكياً واستراتيجياً خلال الحرب، وقدرته على التوفيق بين التوجه السياسي العام في بلده، والقرار المذكور، محققاً الإنتصار الإلهي.

سورية بؤكد عد

13/2009

انتخابات

13/2009

الرئيس

13/2009

الضباط

13/2009

اطلاق ا

12/2009

الفضاء

اللبنانيد

02/2009

بعد نفرا

02/2009

01/2009

01/2009







تعليقات الزوار

12/2009 YOUR WORDS LIGHTING OUR LIFE ... 01:00:00 16/08/2008 اسنرحا

IMAD HASAN | HUSSIENYON

ALSLAM ALIKUMM TODAY WHEN I WAS LISTEN TO SAYYID HASAN NASRALLAH OUR LEADER WAS BACK IN ASHOURA KNITES SAID TO MY SELF HOW BIG MY HOPE THAT OUR LEADER CONTNUE HIS WAY TO 2003 SPEAK TO US DURING MOHARM ASHOURA IMAM HUSSEIN PEACE UPON HIM AND RAMDAN HERE AM ASKING YOU OUR LEADER YOUR WORDS LIGHTING OUR LIFE AND OUR WAY TO HAVE REAL TRUE TRUST IN OUR LORD OUR GOD AND HIS MESSIENGER PEACE UPON HIM THE TIME OF ALLAH VICTROY HIS COME AND THIS NATION OF MUHAMMED PEACE UPON HIM WILL NEVER FAIL EVEN IF ALL THIS WORLD GATHER AGINST US ALLAH BE WITH YOU OUR LEADER ALLAH SAVE YOU WE SEE THE GREAT VICTROY NEAR AND SOON IT LL BE

01:02:00 16/08/2008 مر

yones billel | algere

اعانكم الله على اليهود لعنة الله عليهم

السلام عليكم a 01:25:00 16/08/2008

ابو حسين ساري | لينان

اذا كانت الميركافا تعدّ فخر صناعتهم ،فنحن الانسان هو فخر صناعتنا،وبذا تقوقنا عليهم لأن الالة سهل عطيها اما ارادة الانسان فلا يمكن هزمها فكيف أن كان هذا الانسان احد رجال الله.

Nasrallah batal o 02:11:00 16/08/2008

Hussein | Germany

اليوم عندما كنت استمع الى السيد حسن نصرالله كان قائدنا العودة في عام ashoura knitės 2003 قال لبلادي الذاتية كيف كبيرة ويحدوني الامل في ان زعيمنا contriue وهو في طريقه الى الولايات المتحدة خلال التحدث الى moharm āshōura الأمام الحسين عليه السلام وramdan هنا سؤال صباحا انت قائدنا كلماتكم حياتنا وإضاءة طريقنا الى ثقة حقيقية حقيقية لنا في ربنا الله ورسوله عليه السلام في الوقت victroy الله له وتأتي هذه الأمة من محمد عليه السلام لن تفشل حتى لو كان كُل هذا العالم جمع من دولارات الولايات المتحدة aginst الله أن اكون معكم زعيمنا يخلصك الله العظيم ونحن نرى victroy القريب وسرعان ما تكون ليرة لبنانيه

حرب تموز كشفت هشاشة الجندي الصهبوني. 02:18:00 16/08/2008 م

ابو مالك الحروب | الأردن

لقد عرَّت حرب تموز الادعاء الصهيوني بان الجندي الصهيوني لا يقهر . فعلى أيد زمرة من رجال الله الذين امنوا بربهم وكان

http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=53526&language=ar

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APPENDIX M

Source: Al Manar Date: 27 December 2008 Author: Ahmed Omar URL: http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=68395

Was An Arab and International "Green Light" Given to Cover the Gaza Attack??

Were the "bloody bombings" which the Israeli fighter planes carried out and the striking of the Gaza strip supposed to pass with Arab and international cover? This pressing question was preceded by a number of incidents which Zionist officials revealed days ago.

It's certain that Israel would not have launched its attack on Gaza with this boldness and savagery if protection and a "green light" had not been provided, or at least international and Arab disregard.

Israel began to pave the way for the operation with a wide diplomatic campaign that included the enemy's Foreign Minister sending messages to the U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon and the rotating President of the Security Council, as well as diplomatic delegations carrying similar messages to world leaders, especially the heads of the five permanent members of the Security Council. However, the Israeli effort was directed towards ensuring Arab compliance and realizing guaranteed support for the operation.

The Israel newspaper <u>Maariv</u> talked a few days ago about a request that some Arab officials sent to the Jewish state to cut off the heads of the Hamas leadership if the movement didn't agree to continue the truce, while the Vice Premier of the Zionist government Haim Ramon spoke about the attempt to bring down the Hamas authority in cooperation with Arab states who consider this matter as a common goal for them with Israel.

The Zionist Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni who visited Egypt recently revealed that she previously had informed Arab states of the military operation in the Gaza strip, while the enemy's Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and the President of the enemy state Shimon Peres took up lots of space on TV screens and the pages of Arab newspapers, speaking through those about placing the responsibility on Hamas for what might happen, and alleging Israel's desire to achieve peace with the Arab states.



http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=68395

2/16/2009

APPENDIX N

Source: Al Manar Date: 27 December 2008 Author: not given

URL: http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=68371

The Zionist Enemy's Slaughter: 210 Martyrs and Hundreds Injured

A Palestinian medical source said that two Palestinian resistance fighters were martyred Saturday evening in a new Israeli air raid on Zeitoun in east Gaza City. Regarding that, Moa'wiya *Hasaneen*, general director of emergency department of the *Ministry of Health*, said that the number of Palestinians who were killed in the series of Israeli air raids in the Gaza Strip reached 210, in addition to hundreds of injured.

A terribly monstrous Zionist slaughter, this is the least that is said of the Zionist aggression which the occupation army launched on the Gaza strip, felling hundreds of Palestinians dead and injured, among them many children and women. The air raids which the Israeli warplanes launched targeted all of the headquarters of the revoked government in the Gaza strip.

Regarding the latest count of the number of martyrs, an official in the emergency department of the Palestinian Ministry of Health announced that at least 205 Palestinians were killed and hundreds injured in the on-going series of air raids which the Israeli Air Force launched Saturday.

Moa'wiya Hasaneen had said that "the number of martyrs rose to 205 and over 330 injured, among them 120 in critical condition." Hasaneen explained that "the increase in the number killed is a result of the continuing Israel air raids and extracting a number of martyrs from beneath the rubble of buildings which were shelled this morning."

Hasaneen said that 80 martyrs arrived at the hospitals in pieces, and there are dozens of victims still beneath the debris of the headquarters which were shelled. He pointed to the severe shortage of medicines and first aid supplies and all the treatments necessary for rapid surgeries, imploring the Arab states and medical organizations to send medicines quickly to the besieged strip.

He said that most of the injured are in serious condition and can't be moved to any Arab country until their condition is stabilized; fearing for their lives, he pleaded for helicopters to be sent.

The bodies of the martyred were left in hospitals' hallways due to the small size of the morgue freezers and their inability to hold this many martyrs.



http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=68371

السيدن

دفاع جر

هذا وقد القيت جثامين الشهداء بممرات المشافي نظراً لصغر حجم ثلاجات الموتى وعدم قدرتها على استعاب هذا الكم من

	كما تناثر المصابون في ممرات المشافي واقسامها المختلفة وتم اخلاء كافة الجرحى ممن وصفت اصاباتهم بالطفيفة والمتوسطة لاتاحة المكان لمن همر بحالة حرجة.
12/2009 مواقف	ومن بين الشهداء اللواء توفيق جبر قائد شرطة الحكومة المقالة، ومحافظ الوسطى ابو احمد عاشور، والعقيد اسماعيل الجعبري قائد جهاز الامن والحماية في الشرطة المقالة.
12/2009	
عون بد الفساد	وحسب المعلومات فإن القصف استهدف بداية المقر الرئيس لجهاز الشرطة المقالة "الجوازات" حيث كان يقام احتفال بتخريج دورة من الضباط.
)2/2009	وبعد ذلك بحوالي عشرين ثانية توالت الانفجارات في انحاء متفرقة من مدينة غزة والمحافظتين الوسطى والجنوبية وشمال
السيد ن دفاع حا	القطاع، حيث ثم استهداف مقر المشتل والسودانية ومواقع تدريب لكتائب القسام ومقر جمعية واعد للابسري التابعة لحماس.
12/2009 14 آذار	واطلقت المروحيات الاسرائيلية في ذات الوقت صاروخاً سقط في ملعب الجامعة الاسلامية وسط مدينة غزة، "فيما يعد رسالة انه بالامكان استهداف مقر الجامعة التي يدرس بها قرابة 18 الف طالب وطالبة".
12/2009 المنار ت 12/2009	كما استهدف مقر بدر للشرطة المقالة في محافظة رفح وكافة المقار الامنية ما ادى الى اهتزازات داخل الانفاق برفح غادرها العاملون بشكل عاجل وعرف من بين الشهداء الرائد بالشرطة المقالة عماد العمصي وعدد كبير من الضباط.
الرد عك	وأدى القصف الذي وقع في قترة متزامنة إلى انتشار جثث عناصر الامن التابعين للحكومة المقالة في محيط المقرات التي دمرها القصف.فيما شرعت عشرات سيارات الاسعاف والسيارات المدنية بنقل الجرحى الى المستشفيات في القطاع، وبثت المساجد عبر مكبرات الصوت القرآت الكريم على أرواح الشهداء.
	وقالت مصادر في حركة حماس أن معظم المواقع الامنية في القطاع تعرضت لتدمير كامل خلال القصف الاسرائيلي.
01/2009	واعلنت ألوية الناصر صلاح الدين أن أكثر من 10 شهداء هم من عناصرها، من بينهم قائد "وحدة المدفعية" في الشيخ رضوات محمد الادغم، وقائد الألوية الميداني في رفح احمد الخطيب، والقيادي الميداني أديب حرب من غزة.
	ودعت وزارة الصحة الفلسطينية على لسان وزيرها د. فتحي أبو مغلي، موظفيها خاصة الأطباء والتمريض وكافة مقدمي الخدمات الصحية للتوجه فوراً إلى المستشفيات الحكومية والخاصة في قطاع غزة.
01/2009	واستنكرت الوزارة الهجمة "الوحشية" التي شنتها إسرائيل على قطاع غزة، منوهة أنها ومنذ أيام كانت قد أرسلت عدة شاحنات أدوية لمراكزها في قطاع غزة، وكانت بانتظار التنسيق لإدخال 4 شاحنات أخرى لا تزال تنتظر السماح لها بالدخول للقطاع،
	ودعت كافة الهيئات والجهات الدولية والإنسانية إلى ضرورة التدخل والإسراع لوقف العدوان من جهة ولإدخال العديد من اللوازم الطبية التي بات القطاع في أمس الحاجة لها بشكل عاجل.

http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=68371

ودعت الخدمات الطبية العسكرية الأطباء والممرضين المضربين العودة لعملهم فورا.

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APPENDIX O

Source: Al Manar Date: 31 December 2008 Author: not given

URL: http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=68718

Hamas will fight to the last breath against any land attack

Hamas announced Thursday that it will fight to the last breath against any land operation against the Gaza strip, confirming that any operation like this will be truly foolhardy for the enemy.

Mushir al-Masri, the Hamas representative in the legislative council, said "We are ready for all the choices and we will fight to the last breath and the enemy will not be able to invade the Gaza strip and occupy it or eliminate Hamas." Al-Masri asserted that any invasion would constitute a truly foolish endeavor by the army of the occupation and that getting into the Gaza strip is not like getting out of it.

On another aspect, the Russian Foreign Ministry announced in a statement on Wednesday that Hamas is ready to stop its attacks on the Israeli enemy entity, on the condition that the occupation authorities end their blockade of the Gaza strip.

The Ministry stated that the head of Hamas' political office "Khalid Mish'al announced in response to a question to the Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov that he is prepared to stop the armed confrontation, but it's conditional on the lifting of the blockade on the Gaza strip." The Russian Foreign Ministry statement quoted the contents of a phone conversation between Lavrov and Mish'al on Wednesday.

Hamas

With regards to that, Hamas said Wednesday that it hadn't received any proposal regarding a truce in the Gaza strip but it welcomed any initiative stopping the Israeli attacks on the Gaza strip and guaranteeing the lifting of the blockade.

Ayman Taha, the spokesman for Hamas, said to Agence France-Presse "If any initiative regarding the truce is offered to us, we will study it," stressing "we are for any initiative that stops the aggression and completely lifts the blockade." However he denied that his movement had received any initiative in this regard and said "No initiative has been offered to us yet."

Hamas spokesman Fawzi Barhoum had already confirmed today that talk of a truce meant "equal rights between the victim and the executioner," asserting that "any Arab or foreign intervention must be based on stopping the attack, lifting the blockade and opening all the crossings." Barhoum said that "this talk now of attempts to stop the fighting and to enter into a truce in these circumstances is like equal rights between the victim and the executioner," clarifying that "what is required now is that all of the Arab and international efforts be closely coordinated to stop the attack, lift the blockade, open the crossing and rebuild Gaza."

Barhoum said that "any international or Arab intervention must be built on the basis of the attack ceasing, lifting the blockade and opening all of the crossings,"

indicating that "the leadership of Hamas abroad, represented by the head of its political office Khalid Mish'al and his brothers are in contact with the leaders of the Arab and Islamic world, foremost among them the Amir of Qatar, Libya and Yemen."

Barhoum considered that "the one who started the battle is the Zionist enemy after it had planned well for that," adding that "this war has been imposed on us, we didn't choose it ourselves, and we have the right to defend the sons of our people, who were satisfied that the truce had no benefit with the continuation of the blockade and the aggression." He noted that "no one, regionally or internationally, including the Egyptian mediator, could force the merits of the truce on the Zionist enemy."

2/16/2009



التهدئة".

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تعليقات الزوار

مواقف 12/2009 20:20:00 31/12/2008 مر

FASTING TOMORROW

عون بد

محمد حبت JORDAN I

نرفض عودة غزة الى حصار مهما كان الثمن. رغم الخسائر المادية والبشرية الا ان النصر قادم. وتدعو الامة الأسلامية الى

> لا تهدئه من اجل تجميل صورة بني صهبوت المهزوزة في العالم فلنعش المفاومة والموت لامريكا واسرائيل

31/12/2008 a 12:22:00 12/2009

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الفساد

14 أذار

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01/2009

ولاء البحرين

سلامي لرجال المقاومه في فلسطين وحماس شكرا ياأيها القاده والساده لقد علمتمونا أن للحق جنودا لله درهم لا يخافون لومة لأثم انهم يتكلمون عن تهدئه فوالله إنها من أجل إخراس الشعوب المشجبه لعدوانهم وإذا سكتت سيميلون عليناً ميلة رجل واحد قبح الله الصهابنة ومن سار معهم من العرب الذين همهم المال والطرب وحياتهم في المجون قاتل الله بني صهيون كما ذبحوا نساننا واطفالنا واطفنوا شموع زهرة شبابنا لا تهدئه والله فالهدف منها ما قالت لأن انقليت المعاده والموازين واصبحوا خاتفين ومن الإنتقام مرتعبين فسدد الله ضرياتكم حتى زوال إسرائيل لقد تلاوم بعضهم بعضا وكل واحدا يريد أن يرمي ألتهمه على غيره فإسرائيل فضحتهم ولو كانت صديقتهم لما اسقطت وجودهم بين الجماهير

الرد عل الشعبيه في بلادهم ولكن هل يتعظون يقولوت لا يلدغ مؤمن من جحر مرتين وهاهو كرروها وهم الخاسرين هذا مصير من

حماس

p 12:35:00 31/12/2008

الحسيني | العراق

عبدالرحيم االمغرب

والله لوصمدوا حماس بوجه الغزات المحتلين سوف ينتصرون نصرا من الله كما نضر اخواننا في الجنوب اللبناني اصمدوا وصابرواً ان الله معنا لاتخافوا اكملوا ان النصر معكم الى ابن الذله هيهات من الذله يابيي الله ورسوله لنا ذلك قالها سبط الرسول صلى الله عليه واله وسلم الامام الحسين وهذه ايام حسينيه ثوريه قلكم العزه ولهم الذله

ـــوا...فالنصــر آت..أت باذن الله...

يبيع ابناء وطنه ودينه وعقيدته نحن علمنا الحسين ان لا نركع

a 12:57:00 31/12/2008

لا يغرنكم اجتماع وزراء الخارجية العرب...ولا اجتماع الرؤساء العرب...فانهم غثاء كفثاء السيـــل.....عم لا تهداـــــة الا بوقَــَف العـدوان وَرَفَـع الحَصـــار عَـن اهل غــــزة....الشعوب العربية لا تنتظــر من هؤلاء الخــونــة للّدين والعرق والاوطات اي شيء...مصــر مشاركة في العـــدوان...لن تصدق كلمة من مسؤوليها الا اذا فتحت معبر رفح على مُصراًعيــه ...التصل المعونة والدواء ..والســـــلاح للمقاومة الفلسطينية الغزاويـة...السعـــوديــة مشاركة مشاركة فعليَــة...و والله الذّي لا الله اللهوَ...لو كان لفالسطين حدود مع السعــودية...ألفعلت ما فعلته مَصــر...اصبروا يا اهلَ غزة....فانتم بيقين في حالة اما نصر واما استشهاد...وكلاهما فيه خير لكم....في بداية اجتماع وزراء الخارجية العرب في مصر تكلم بعض المعتوهين....وحاولوا قلب الحقائق....ونادوا بالوحدة الفلسطينية قبل كل شيء...هــــذا هـــــراء.....

p 01:10:00 31/12/2008

رفع الحصار العربي عن غزة اولا...

عبدالرحيم المغرب

لا كلام...لا حديث...لا حـــل..الا يوقف العدوان ورفع الحصـــار العربي عن غزة...مع بداية اجتماع وزراء الخارجيــة العرب ...وبعد المقدمات الباهتة المستنكرة للعدوات الاسرائيلي على غــزة...اتجه كل من وزير الخارجية السعودي والامين العام للجامعة العربية الى توجيبه الانتياه نحو نقطة اعتبروها اساسية..المصالحة الفلسطينية الفلسطينية..كلام حق يراد به باطل..يريدون أن يعيدوا الكرة الى داخل فلسطين...هــراء....على المقاومة الفلسطينية أن تبقى ثابتة على موقفها...وقف العدوان ورفع الحصارالعربي على الخصوص....بعد ذلك...لنتحدث عن المصالحات الفلسطينية الفلسطينية....لو كانت مصر صادقة...لساهمت من جهتها بفتح معبر رفح...ولكن وللاسف الشديد...كل الوزراء الجالسون

2/16/2009

APPENDIX P

Source: Al Manar Date: 2 January 2009 Author: Special Report to Al-Manar

URL: http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=68914

The Resistance Continues Firing Missiles For the Seventh Day in a Row

The Palestinian resistance continued to devastate the Zionist settlements with missiles for the seventh consecutive day.

The enemy's media confirmed that over 15 missiles landed on Ashkelon and the rest of the settlements which are 40 kilometers south of the Gaza strip.

Four missiles were fired today on the occupied city of Ashkelon, and the Zionist police noted that the missile attack resulted in two people injured and damaged several residential buildings. The resistance also targeted the settlement of Sha'ar HaNegev with two Qassam missiles, and the settlement of Sderot with three missiles, and the settlement of Netivot with two missiles, while two missiles made a direct hit on a home in the settlement of Ashkol.

Panic also spread among the settlers of Beersheba when the Zionist officials carried out a long test of the alert sirens in the city, even though [the residents] had been warned in advance.

[paragraph omitted- restates first three paragraphs]

The resistance's response is present and continuous despite the Israeli land, sea and air blockade and despite the Israeli military aircraft dropping leaflets on the eastern area of the [Gaza] strip in which they urge the Palestinians to call a secret phone number or send messages by email to report the location of those firing the Palestinian missiles, because [the missiles] are reaching locations further into the interior of Israel than before; about an eighth of the population of the enemy entity, about seven million people, are in range of the locally-developed Qassam and Garad missiles.

The alarm sirens in the Israeli cities and settlements still sound to urge the populace to head for the shelters when military radars pick up the in-bound missiles which can pass by the enemy's reconnaissance helicopters and aircraft that are striving to uncover the missiles' launch points.

The Palestinian resistance yesterday (Thursday) showered the enemy's settlements, especially the city of Beersheba and the settlement of Ashdod with over 50 missiles. The resistance fighters also shelled Hatzerim Airbase which is considered the largest Israeli Air Force base.

All of that comes despite the enemy's use of the warplanes and warships in its bombing of Gaza, whose skies are not quit of the Israeli reconnaissance aircraft, as well as the Zionist entity's massing of thousands of its forces along the Israeli-Gaza border in preparation for a likely land attack.



APPENDIX Q

Source: Al Manar Date: 18 January 2009 Author: Ahmad Shaeetu URL: http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=70705

The View of the Strip after the Cease-Fire

The scene in the Gaza strip a day after the announcement by the Zionist enemy of a unilateral cease-fire following 22 days of the failed hostile and brutal war during which the people resisted despite the massacres and the siege and the resistance fought back...A wary calm violated by a raid Sunday morning on the northern Gaza strip, resulting in five wounded...Some shots fired at citizens...Israeli tanks retreat and reposition themselves...Inhabitants return to their homes to find ruin and wide-scale destruction in Gaza City and its neighborhoods such as Tel al-Hawa and Zeitoun and in the northern strip and the rest of the areas after the shelling and the vengeful raids which did not find a way to the resistance so took revenge on the homes and the civilians...Voices echo from the minarets in Gaza City and the environs, announcing the victory of the resistance and the people and congratulating the people...A voice from one of the mosques above which waved the banners of Hamas says "The movement [Hamas] congratulates our people for their bold victory."

The resistance fired several rockets in the morning until noon towards the [Israeli] settlements. An eight-year old girl was martyred by an Israeli bullet in Bayt Hanuoun and in the southern part of the strip the Zionist army killed a young Palestinian man near Khan Yunis.

According to eye witnesses, the Israeli military vehicles in a number of areas, including the northern strip and the areas north, south and east of Gaza [city], have retreated to their positions within the [Israeli] border far from the homes of the citizens. The witnesses said that dozens of the tanks which were on the Coastal Road have retreated and deployed on the Nezarim axis where the inhabitants have begun to move from Gaza to the middle and back. The region witnessed an active movement of cars.

The Palestinian rescue apparatus took advantage of the cessation of the shelling and entered the zones of destruction in the morning and pulled out about 100 bodies that previously were inaccessible due to the battles and the enemy preventing ambulance and rescue crews from reaching many of the areas. The number of martyrs there had reached over 1,300. Local people also rushed to pull bodies from beneath the rubble and inspect the damage. Many businesses opened their doors in the undamaged areas and life began to return to normal.

In Gaza City, the people came out into the streets to appraise the heavy damage. One of the citizens said "There's not a single home here. My house was here" in front of the rubble of his home in Zeitoun. "Everything has been destroyed," he added, while children were searching among the rubble for their things and their school bags and their shredded books.



APPENDIX R

Source: Al Jazeera Date: 27 December 2008 Author: al-Jazeera/agencies

URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/A4668525-4667-4C03-A82D-

64E0E28A2864.htm

Arab condemnation and calls for an emergency summit after the attack on Gaza

Qatar, Sudan, Libya, Yemen, Syria and Saudi Arabia called for convening an emergency summit of the Arab League to discuss the developments in Gaza after the Israeli attack which led to the martyrdom and injuring of hundreds of people Saturday.

The Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir criticized the Israeli slaughter and described it as an atrocious crime and an attempt to eliminate the Palestinian people and break the thorn of the resistance. In his statements to Al-Jazeera, al-Bashir called for an emergency Arab summit going beyond [just] a speech of condemnation and outrage, with the necessity of stopping any attempt of normalization or the trend for negotiation with Israel.

That comes at time when the official and popular Arab condemnations of the raids which the Israeli occupation forces launched; the Arab League condemned those attacks and described what the Palestinian people in the strip where being subjected to as a "massacre" which left behind about 210 martyred and over 700 injured according to Palestinian medical sources.

The League demanded that the International Security Council take immediate measures to stop this Israeli "recklessness" and "rashness" and protect the Palestinian people from these Israeli "crimes." The League's Deputy Secretary General for Palestinian Affairs Ambassador Mohammed Subaih said that "Israel is completely responsible for this crime, and in its history filled with crimes, there is recorded a new massacre without the slightest reason; it has violated all the understandings and commitments and treaties throughout its history."

Egyptian Criticism

Egypt in turn criticized the Israeli military assaults, laying the responsibility on Israel as the occupying power for the deaths and injuries that resulted. The Egyptian Middle East News Agency quoted a statement issued by the Presidency of the Egyptian Republic that Egypt warned against the Israeli escalation and its impact on the humanitarian conditions in the [Gaza] strip and stability of the Middle East. The agency indicated that the Egyptian President Husny Mubarak had issued instructions to welcome all injured victims of the Israeli attack via the Rafah crossing and to provide the necessary medical care to them in Egyptian hospitals.

Moustafa Al-Faqi, head of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Egyptian National Assembly, told Al-Jazeera that Egypt as a government and people "reject and condemn this unprecedented slaughter."

A Popular Stance

The Al-Jazeera correspondent in Cairo stated that the Egyptian opposition movements called for organizing a protest stoppage this evening in front of the Journalists' Union to criticize the Israeli assaults.

The Grand Master of the Muslim Brotherhood group in Egypt Mohammed Mahdi Akef criticized these Israeli raids. Akef told Al-Jazeera that "the Zionists can not perpetrate this crime without colluding with the Arab leaders and international organizations." He added "even though the situation is extremely dangerous, we didn't hear anyone from the Islamic and Arab leaderships stopping this attack."

Arab International

In Beirut, Hezbollah's Director of Foreign Relations Nawaf al-Musawi considered the Israeli assaults on Gaza "an Arab International war" on the Palestinian people to force them to surrender. Al-Musawi told al-Jazeera that the first line of defense for the Palestinian people is the resistance, and [no one] is wagering anything on the official position.

On a related matter, the Al-Jazeera correspondent in Beirut Boushra Abdel Samad said that the Lebanese government issued a statement in which it condemned the Israeli massacres, considering the "solution to lie in the movement of the Arab League and the United Nations."

On the popular level, she indicated that calls had gone out to demonstrate and organize mass marches in the Ayn al-Hilwa refugee camp and all of the Palestinian camps to criticize the Israeli attacks, adding that there are reports of marches after the afternoon prayers.

Arab Communiqués

Media reports noted mentioned that the Libyan leader Muammar al-Qaddafi and the Emir of Qatar Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani talked by phone about the situation in Gaza. The reports added that Sheikh Hamad had other phone discussions on the same subject with Saudi King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz.

In the Jordanian capitol, the Secretary General of the [Arab] League Amr Moussa announced that Jordan requested an urgent meeting of the Foreign ministers tomorrow [Sunday] to discuss the "Israeli attacks on the Gaza Strip."

On the popular level, spontaneous demonstrations appeared in several Palestinian camps. In Amman, a mass sit-in strike was organized in front of the Vocational Unions complex; those taking part raised signs demanding the lifting of the blockade, opening of the crossings and stopping the Israeli occupation's assault.

During this strike, the Controller General of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan Sayid Hammam called in a speech on academics and young people of the Islamic and Arab nation to demonstrate to criticize the Israeli aggressions and hold accountable those whom he called "the traitors and agents who closed the [border] crossings."

Election calculations

The General Secretary of the Association of Muslim Scholars in Iraq Harith al-Dari told al-Jazeera that the Israeli raids come in the scope of the election battle between the Israeli parties, pointing out that the victim in that is the Palestinian people.

Likewise, Bouthaina Shaaban, media advisor to the Syrian President, stated to al-Jazeera that the Arab states are responsible for this attack because they stayed "mute and silent" and didn't interfere with these attacks to protect the Palestinian people.

The spokesman for the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) said that the Israeli raids led to the destruction of most of the police stations belonging to the deposed Palestinian government.



http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/A4668525-4667-4C03-A82D-64E0E28A2864.htm

مذبحة جديدة بدون أدنى سبب، وهي خرقت كل التفاهمات والالتر امات والمواثيق على مدى تاريخها".

تقديد مصري وبدور ها ندنت مصر بالاعتداءات العسكرية الإسرائيلية، محملة إسرائيل باعتبار ها قوة احتلال مسؤولية ما أسقرت عنه من الشهداء والجرحي.

ونقلت وكالة أنباء الشرق الأوسط المصرية عن بيان أصدرته رئاسة الجمهورية المصرية أن مصر حذرت من التصعيد الإسر اللي وتداعياته على الأوضاع الإنسانية بالقطاع وعلى استقر ار الشرق الأوسط.

وأشارت الوكالة إلى أن الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك أصدر تعليماته باستقبال كافة ضحايا العدوان الإسر انيلي من المصابين عبر معبر رفح وتقديم الرعاية الطبية اللازمة لهم بالمستشفيات المصرية.

وبدوره أكدرنيس لجنة العلاقات الخارجية بمجلس الشعب المصري مصطفي الفقي للجزيرة أن مصر حكومة وشعبا الترفض وتدين هذه المجزرة غير المسبوقة".

> موقف شعبي وأفاد مراسل الجزيرة بالقاهرة أن حركات المعارضة المصرية دعت إلى تنظيم وقفة احتجاجية مساء اليوم أمام ثقابة الصحافيين للتنديد بالاعتداءات الإسرائيلية.

وندد المرشد العام لجماعة الإخوان المسلمين بمصر محمد مهدي عاكف بهذه الغارات الإسرائيلية

الغارات دمرت مقار الشرطة يغزة (الدنسية) وقال عاكف للجزيرة إن "الصهاينة لا يمكنهم إرتكاب هذه الجرائم إلا بتواطؤ مع الحكام العرب والمنظمات الدولية"، مُضيِّفاً أنه "رغم أن الوضع في منتهى الخطورة فلم نسمع واحدا من القيادات العربية والإسلامية يوقف هذا العدوان".

دولية عربية وقي بيروت اعتبر مدير العلاقات الخارجية لحزب الله نواف الموسوي أن الاعتداءات الإسرائلية على غزة "حرب دولية عربية" على الشعب القلسطيني لإر عامه على الاستسلام.

وقال الموسوي للجزيرة إن خط الدفاع الأول عن الشعب الفلسطيني هو المقاومة باعتبار أن الرهان على الموقف الرسمي أصبح معدوما.

وفي سياق متصل أفادت مراسلة الجزيرة في بيروت بشرى عبد الصمد أن الحكومة اللباتية أصدرت بيانا استنكرت فيه المجازر الإسرائيلية، معتبرة أن الحل يتمثل في تحرك الجامعة العربية والأمم المتحدة.

وعلى المستوى الشعبي أشارت إلى أن دعوات صدرت للتظاهر وتنظيم مسيرات حاشدة بمخيم عين الحلوة وكافة المخيمات الفلسطينية للتنديد بالاعتداءات الإسرانيلية، مضيفة أن هناك أنباء عن خروج مسيرات بعد صلاة العصر.

اتصالات عربية وفي نفس الإطار ذكرت تقارير إعلامية أن ر من معمر القذافي وأمير قطر الشيخ حمد بن خليفة آل ثاني تباحثا هاتفيا حول الوضع في غزة.

وأضافت أن محادثات هاتفية أخرى أجراها الشيخ حمد حول نفس الموضوع مع ملك السعودية عبد الله بن عبد العزيز.



وفي العاصمة الأردنية أعلن الأمين العام الم للجامعة عمرو موسى أن الأردن طلب عقد با اجتماع عاجل لوزراء الخارجية غدا الأحد لبحث "الاعتداءات الإسرانيلية على قطاع غزة". أمير قطر أجرى اتصالات مع قادة عرب يخصوص الوضع بغزة (تفرنسية ارشيف)

وعلى المستوى الشعبي خرجت مظاهرات عفوية عمت عدة مخيمات للفلسطينيين.

ونظم أيضا بعمان اعتصام حاشد أمام مجمع النقابات المهنية رفع خلاله المشاركون لاقتاتُ تطالب برقع الحصار وفتح المعابر ووقف عدوانُ الاحتلالُ الإسرائيلي.

ودعا المراقب العام للإخوان المسلمين بالأردن سعيد همام في كلمة خلال هذا الاعتصام العلماء وشباب الأمة العربية والإسلامية للتظاهر للتنديد بالاعتداءات الإسرائيلية ومحاسبة من أسماهم "الخوقة والعملاء الذين أعلقوا المعابر".

حسابات انتخابية ويدوره قال الأمين العام لهيئة علماء المسلمين بالعراق حارث الضاري للجزيرة إن الغارات الإسر انولية تأتي في إطار المعركة الانتخابية بين الأحزاب الإسرائيلية، مشيرا إلى أن الضحية في ذلك هو الشعب الفلسطيني.

وسارت على نفس المنوال بثينة شعبان المستشارة الإعلامية للرئيس السوري التي أكدت للجزيرة أن الأهداف المتوخاة من الاعتداءات الإسر انيلية هو كسب نقاط في السجال الانتخابي، ودانت الصمت الدولي اتجاه هذا المدوان.

أما رئيس اتحاد العلماء المسلمين الشيخ يوسف القرضاوي فاعتبر في تصريح للجزيرة أن الدول العربية مسؤولة عن هذا العدوان الأنها التزمت "الخرس والصمت" و لا تقف أمام هذه الاعتداءات لحماية الشعب الفلسطيني.

وكان المتحدث باسم حركة المقاومة الإسلامية (حماس) قال إن الغارات الإسرائيلية أدت إلى تدمير معظم مقار الشرطة التابعة للحكومة الفلسطينية المقالة.

Ä المصدر: الجزيرة + وكالات

تعليقات القراء

morad

التا مر على قضاياتا

ومؤتمر ال من اجل الاجتماع والقامر على قضاياتا وقضا يا اخوانا الفلسطينين, , اناشددكم يا عباس ودحلان وعمر ووسليمان, حسن وحسين , موسى و ...ن الا تستحيي الا تستحى كان عليك تحدير العالم كله قبل المجزرة لابعد كفاتا نفاقا كفاتا عار كل

اشرف من المغرب

agadir maroc

الساكت عن الحق شيطان اخرس از عو الله ينصر هم لاحول و لاقوةالا يالله

على احمد على

الكويت

كيف ننتصر ونصف العرب شعوبا وحكومات اما خونة أو متصهينة

ابو منذر الرفاعي

اليمن

كفي كذب ونفاق يا حكام الذل ايه الخانفون اتركو الشعوب العربيه تدافع عن نفسها شبعنا من كذبكم ومملننا قممكم شجب واستنكار والى مذبحة اخرى هذا اقصى ما تعملونه بعضكم يقيم علاقات كامله والاخر يرتعد من امريكا راعية الصهاينه وسيدتكم جميعًا والبعض الأخر يطبق الحصار اشد من الصهاينه أذا لسنًا بحاجه لقمكم الجوفا التي تخدرون بها الشعوب المعتاده على الجبن والرعب من جلاوزتكم قبح الله وجو هكم جميعا دون استثنى يا خونة الامة

لا اسم لي...من يهتم..

ضاع مني العنوان....

غزة تذبح على أعداب الدول العربية المبادرة لفتح المعابر الإجلاء القتلى بعد ما أغلقتها في وجه الحياة ... اخسأ يا جبان.. ونمر حمد يحمل المسؤو لية لحماس اغربوا عن شعبنا يا متأمرين

هادي عيدالله المدهون

قطاع غزة

ماذاً بقياً يا عرب اذا بكي الرجال واصبحت تولول مثل النساء الاشلاء مرمية في الطرقات ابن الضمير العربيواين من يقولون بانهم من الامسلمين والعرب

ابو ابراهيم المصري

حسبنا اللة ونعم الوكيل اسرائيل لا تجرؤ على فعل مثل هذة المجازر الا بموافقة من امريكا والحكام الخونةالمتعربين والمدعيين للاسلام زورا فهم ليس لهم مصداقية عند شعوبهم ولا يحترمون انفسهم ولا شعوبهم ولايد ان يفهموا ان زوال اسرانيل حتمية قر أنية ولن يكون بأيدهم فهذا شرف هم ليس اهلا لهموسيطم الذين ظلموا اي منقلب ينقلبون

سمر قديرة

ما يحدث انما هو مباركة الحكومة المصرية التي اعطت للقوات الصهيونية الضوء الاخضر بعد استضافة الرئيس المصرى لتسييني ليفتى فليكف عن استضافة سفاحين اليهود و مصافحتهم و ليفتح المعابر امام اخواتنا لعل يجد ما يشر ف ليكتبه في تاريخه

بسمه سمير بركات

المنصورة

يا رونساء الدول العربية والاسلامية والامين العام حرام التفكك وانقزوا غزه

Hichem

يكفي يا عرب هوانا

و الله العرب أكثر ضررا للقلصطينيين من اسرائيل مباركة مصرية لضرب غزة لمادا لم يقل أبو الغيط سأقلم أظافر من يمس أهل غزة و لكن أبن الرجولة في أوربا الرجال يأكلوا القياقرا مت أجل أن يحسوا برجولتهم و لكن الحكام العرب أي دواء يلزمهم للاحساس بالرجولة

321

عربي دولي رياضة المقافة وفن طب وصحة منوعات القارير وحوارات جولة الصحافة اكاريكاتير

جميع حقوق النشر محفوظة 🦓 2000-2009 م (انظر اتفاقية استخدام الموقع)



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APPENDIX S

Source: Al Jazeera Date: 28 December 2008 Author: *Prince Hasan bin Talal*URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/F1D4FC23-DDAD-4BDB-BD97-6254F9DF2753.htm

(Opinion piece)

The Events of Gaza- A Blow to Humanity

The events of Gaza were no surprise, but it was strong shock when the TV stations showed us what wounded my heart and bloodied the feelings of millions of people around the world.

It's not easy to relate your feelings, to pin down your thoughts while you're standing before these scenes, and the multitude of victims and the piles of the shredded bodies of the besieged civilians killed in Gaza.

I and millions like me call for an immediate cessation to this unwarranted violence and the war machine which is thrown into this bloody scene.

I believe that I speak not as a representative of Arabs or Moslems or Christians, but rather I speak for everyone who has human feelings and a desire for a better future for this world.

The use after a prolonged siege of excessive force and lethal weapons on the inhabitants of the Gaza strip, including civilians, men, women and children, won't lead to a solution nor will it present a frightening deterrent picture.

Instead, it summons extreme reactions that are in no one's interest. I believe that Israel's security is affected with each tremor in the area.

A blow like this to the Gaza strip may be employed for temporary political ends, but its great negative consequences on all levels will not be hidden. It takes the peace process to an unknown point and while the number of dead and injured and orphans multiply, we know that a peace initiative can not be based on an intentional attraction of hatred in the name of religion and nationalism, wherever and whatever it might be.

If we believe in apportioning the damage between both parties of the equation, the Palestinians and the Israelis, then that applies to each faction and each group within each party, and the losses are distributed amongst all and no one is immune to their pain.

[Pulled quote next to the paragraph above; last sentence of the piece]

In looking at our partners in humanity across this planet, questions will rise to the surface of our thoughts regarding the extent of the world's continuing to accept half-facts and double standards, and regarding [the world's] ability to stay neutral towards the civilians and innocents being killed.

The distinguishing between the action and the reaction in this issue is unimportant, particularly when the power equation is unequal. The actions must be put

into the context of how they deal with people, and the reactions must be appropriate to that which they follow.

I want to point out here that the problem is not who rules Gaza; there are civilians who are being targeted by all types of lethal weapons, and that is something that has been condemned in the conventions of humanity and international law for decades. This demands that I not forget my fundamental commitment to the idea of human security, but the cruelty of the events is such that it is monstrous for us speak of human security without taking into account the lives of the hundreds of thousands of people in Gaza who are in imminent danger.

In conclusion, we are between sacred holidays for the Christians and Moslems of the world, and it's an opportunity for us to ponder the inspiration of the echoes of peace in a land which carried the message of peace to the entire world. When will there be the chance in the land of Palestine and for the people of Palestine to celebrate holidays without blood? [used as pull quote above]

[Prince bin Talal is the uncle of King Abdullah of Jordan, and the Honorary Head of the World Conference of Religions for Peace]

2/16/2009



http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/F1D4FC23-DDAD-4BDB-BD97-6254F9DF2753.htm

أنا ومثلي الملايين ندعو إلى الوقف الفوري لهذا العنف غير المسوَّغ، والآلة الحرب التي تُرَجَ في هذا المشهد الدامي.

وأحسب أنفي لا أتكلم قيابة عن عرب أو مسلمين أو مسيحيين، وإنما أتكلم بلسان كل من يحمل مشاعر إنسانية، ورغبة في مستقبل أفضل لهذا العالم.

إن استعمال القوة المفرطة والأسلحة الفتاكة بعد حصار طويل لقطاع غزة بسكاته جميعا، من مدنيين رجال ونساء وأطفال، لن يُفضى إلى حلّ، ولن يعطى صورة

مخيفة رادعة.

وفي مقابل ذلك فاله سيستدعي ردود فعل مقطرفة ليست في صىالح أحد. وأحسب أن أمن إسرائيل يتكثر بكل اهتزازة في المشهد.

إن ضربة مثل هذه لقطاع غزة قد توظف لغايات سياسية مؤقتة، ولكنها لا تُخفي تبعاتها السلبية الأوسع على المستويات جميعها، وهي تأخذ عملية السلام إلى نقطة مجهولة، كلما تضاعف عند الضمايا، بين قتلي وجرحي ويتامي وأيامي، علما بأن مبادرة السلام لا يمكن أن تقوم باستقطاب متعمد للكر اهية باسم الدين والقومية، أيا كأتت وأينما كاتت

وإذا كنا نؤمن بقسمة الضرر على طرفي المعادلة من فلسطينيين وإسرائيليين، فإن ذلك ينسحب على كل فريق وكل مجموعة داخل كل طرف، فالخسارات تتوزع على متى ستتوافر فرصة في أرض فلسطين ولأهل فلسطين ليعيشوا الجميع، ولا يناي احد بنقسة عن الامها.

أعيادا بلا دماء؟! وبالنظر إلى شركاتنا في الإنسانية عير هذا العالم، فإن اعيادا بالا دماه؟! أسئلة ستطفو على سطح أفكارتا حول مدى استمر ارية العالم في تقيّل أنصاف الحقائق وازدواجية المعايير، وحول قدرته على المحافظة على الحياد تتجاه المدنيين والأبرياء وهم يُقتلون.

وإن التغريق بين الفعل ورد الفعل في هذه القضية ليس ذا أهمية، ويخاصة حين تكون معادلة القوة غير متساوية، فالأفعال ينبغي أن تضع في اعتبار ها أنها تتعاطى مع البشر، وردود الأفعال ينبغي أن تكون مناسبة لما تترتب عليه.

وأرغب في أن أشير هنا إلى أن المشكلة ليست في من يحكم في غزة، فهنالك مدنيون يتعرضون للاستهداف بكافة أنواع الأسلحة الفتاكة، وذلك أمر مستهجن في غرف الإنسانية والشرعية الدولية منذ عقود، وهذا يستدعى عندي ألا أنسى التزامي الأساسي بفكرة الأمن الإنساني، ولكنّ قسوة الأحداث أفظع من أن نتحدث عن الأمن الإنساني، إلا في حدود ما يخص الخطر المحدق بحياة منات الآلاف من الذن في منة الناس في غزة.

وختاماً فإننا بين عيدين لمسيحيي العالم ومسلميه، وهي فرصة لنفكر في استلهام أصداء السلام في أرض حملت رسالة السلام إلى العالم كله، فمنّى سنتوافر فرصة في أرض فلسطين ولأهل فلسطين ليعيشوا أعياداً بلا دماء؟

رنيس شرف منظمة المؤتمر العالمي للأديان من أجل السلام

المصدر:الجزيرة



تعليقات القراء

محمد امين من الايران

طهران/ايران

ان الحق سينتصر باذن الله ، عاجلا ام أجلا السلام عليكم يا شعب الفلسطين في غزه

فادي خالد زهرة

لبنان

الحمد للع الذي جعل في هذه الأمة مسؤولين يشعرون بمصاتى الإنسان

france

لغزة الصمود والتصريا رب الله معكم بالشرف الناس ويا اطهر الناس يا من اعدتو لنا الكرامة والعزة و لكن بدمكم الغالي جداعلينا قلوبنا تحترق من اجلكم. ويل لمن يخذلكم و لا يساندكم

مسلم عربي فلسطيني حر



http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/F1D4FC23-DDAD-4BDB-BD97-6254F9DF2753.htm

جزاك الله خبرا يا امير

حضرة الامير نقدر لك قول الحق الذي يعجز عنه الكثيرون ومنهم ابن اخيك الحسين رحمه الله , فان دل على شيء أنما يدل على اصالة ونبل ,رغم الدبلوماسية المتقنه في مقالك الا اننا نعلم علم اليقين ما يجول في قلبك وعقلك وهو ما يجولَ في قلب كل عربي شريف اصيل غيور على دينه واهله

مسلم عربي فلسطيني حر فلمطين

**نتمه **. فان لم يكن على قدر من المسؤليه فليترك المهمه لمن هو اهل لها لمن يتقى الله في شعبه لمن يغار على امته ومن لا يهاب في الله لومة لانم وأن الخير في الامه الى يوم الدين وهذا النهر الجاري من الشهداء في فلسطين وكل بلاد المسلمين اتما يؤكد ذلك اخير ا نسأل الله ان يستخدمك لنصرة المظلومين والمقموعين والمقهورين في شتى بلاد العروبه اقولها واتىالم فهي كلمه لم يبقم منها سوى الرسم والصوره. اخوكم ابن فلسطين الحبيبه مسلم عربي غيور على امته السلام

فلسطيني حر

تابلس

نشكر الامير حسن على ادانته لما يجري في غزة .. لأن الكلام خرج من انسان حر لا يقع تحت الضغوط الاخرى لكن نحن نريد فعل فعل .. ولانريد كلام .. لأن الكلام لا يكفي.... اين الحكام العرب ... الذين يشاركون في الحرب على غزة .

مريم طهبوب

الحمد اله الذي أوجد من الأمراء على الأقل من يشعرنا أني أريد الحق ... شكرا

محمود

جزاك الله خيرا ايها الامير العاقل...وازادك الله من نعيمه...ارجو ان تتحدث قليلا عن حقيقة دور مصر التي اتهمت بالخيانه والغدر ..وهي ليست من سمات حكومتنا المصريه التي طالما مدت يد العون الخوانفا في فلسطين .. يجب ان نفكر كيف نساعد اخواننا في غزه ليس ان نتهم حكومة مصر بالخيانه او الغدر ... ان الله لا يحب الظلم ... اطال الله عمرك ايها الامير

الاردن

كفي اذلالا ، وكفاتا هوان ، شكرا لك ايها الامير العربي على هذا التحليل والكلام المنمق والواعي ، ولكن برأيي نحن لسنا بحاجه الى اي وعي او موضوعيه ، لسنا بحاجه الى قراءات للواقع ، لطالما كنا نغير واقعناً باصرارنا وبايدينا ، اثنا نريد حركه سريعه منا بعيده عن كل دبلو ماسيه وتحليل ، نحن بحاجه الى نهر من شهداء الخلد منا ، بحاجه الى اشخاص لا تخاف الا من خالقها ، نحن بحاجه الى أناس بعيدين عن الخيانه وبعيدين عن الهوان ، تحن بحاجه الى كرامه وعزه ، لا نريد لوم احد على مصابنا ، لا حكامنا ولا حكام

جمال عيد العتابقة

الاردن - الطفيلة

إن الأمير الحسن (المفكر العربي)قد فند ما يحدث في المنطقة وهو بفكره الثاقب وكلماته المعبرة قد قدما تصورا عاما عن هذه الأزمة أطال الله في عمرك يا أميرنا

<< 987654321

[الموضوعات المنشورة لا تعبر بالضرورة عن رأي الموقع]

تحليلات | التقرير العربي السنوي | كتب | أحداث و مناسبات | وجهات نظر | أزمات وحروب | أحداث العام | تغطيات 2009 | ملقات خاصة 2009 محميع حقوق النشر محقوظة في 2000-2009 م (انظر اتفاقية استخدام الموقع)

APPENDIX T

Source: Al Jazeera Date: 31 December 2008 Author: al-Jazeera

URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/1859AA6A-E21F-48D9-A87A-

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Military Expert: Continuation of the Missile Bombardment Means Israel's Failure

A Lebanese military expert anticipated that the next 48 hours will be decisive in determining the course of the on-going Israeli military operation in the Gaza strip, and didn't discount the likelihood that Tel Aviv would lower its goals from rooting out Hamas to [just] weakening it.

Retired Colonel Doctor Amin Hotait said in a call with Al-Jazeera.net that Israel drew up a bank of targets for the Air Force that included 230 targets in six categories. In reviewing the bombing zones and the sites of destruction, it becomes apparent that it exceeded the basic targets; during the last three days, [the Air Force] hit 275 targets and therefore "Israel has done everything it wanted to do in the [Gaza] strip."

Hotait added that "the firing of missiles after Israeli had finished dealing with its bank of targets came as a surprise to [Israel], and the ability of the resistance to fire the missiles represents an unmistakable message about the inability of the air operation to achieve its goals."

Evaluating the Situation

Hotait concludes that the facts of the situation show that the Israeli air campaign wiped out the bombed targets, but it didn't achieve the goals set forth for it "which makes Israel need to extend the time limit." He expressed his belief that Israel will within the next 48 hours reevaluate the situation and extend the air operation for another 24 to 48 hours "so that next Thursday will be a decisive point for the Israeli leadership to determine what it wants."

He also emphasized that the Palestinian resistance's capability to fire the missiles, remain cohesive and tenacious and refuse to surrender, all mean "the failure of the air campaign to achieve its goals." He added that that will force Israel "to retreat from the high bar which it had set, [which was] to root out the resistance, occupy the strip, force the resistance from it and hand it over to a third party."

The retired Colonel believed that Israel will have two options: either a partial invasion so it can say that dealt with the missile bases and destroyed their stores, or a token occupation of pockets of the border area as occurred in Lebanon.

Regarding if the Gaza war will lead Israel to a new investigatory commission resembling the Finegold commission which followed the 2006 Lebanon war, he said that merely firing Garad missiles means the failure of the Israeli plan, and that the military leadership didn't take into account everything on the basis of which it could deal with the

targets in a fashion to destroy and root them out and "this will lead ultimately to a problem as happened in Lebanon, but what will determine how things play out is the next 48 hours."

As for the possibility of the massing of large ground forces for Gaza, Hotait believed that Israeli can't repeat what happened to it in Lebanon, explaining that Israel was unable to deal with the sources of fire in south Lebanon before initiating its ground operation, and subsequently its failure in that regard led to its failure in the war and thus it can not launch a ground operation until it is reassured about its results."

The military expert stressed that the mere fact of firing Gaza's missiles means the presence of resistors lying in wait and so Israel will hesitate greatly to begin its large-scale attack "because it will encounter a slaughter of its soldiers and the outcome of the war will be the opposite of what the political and military leadership intended."

Anticipated Scenarios

About scenarios for the Israeli operation, Hotait said "if it proves correct for the Israelis that the operation won't achieve the desired results, Israel will lower the level of the goals to getting out of a total failure; this is the traditional Israeli style. At that time, it will say that that it is working on evaluating Hamas' conduct in preventing missiles and reaching mutual understandings about its performance and behavior in Gaza, instead of extirpating it and ending its rule."

He also expects working through regional and international intermediaries or a third party "to find a solution." However, he said that the door to choosing a third intermediary was closed temporarily after "Egypt's fall from neutrality and Turkey's leaving the circle of mediation between Israel and Syria and its withdrawal from playing the role of mediator in issues of the Middle East."

Regarding the American-European way out, the military expert anticipated that the European Union will try with Washington to search for a way out [of the situation] through the Security Council with a resolution like 1701, while he didn't discount Tel Aviv attempting to put pressure on the resistance with a partial occupation of Gaza as a bargaining chip. "But both of these are hostage to what the field will do in its dealings with the bombing operation and to the perseverance and tenacity the leadership of the resistance displays in the situation."

Colonel Hotait concluded that the final ruling regarding the military operation against Gaza needs the next 48 hours, that is, the time by which Israel will announce the beginning of the land operation against Gaza.



http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/1859AA6A-E21F-48D9-A87A-FEB0E9D2CD1B.htm

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ورأى العميد المتقاعد أن إسرائيل ستكون أمين حطيط: إسرائيل أمام خيارين الاجتياح المجزئي حقى أمين حطيط: إسرائيل أمام خيارين الاجتياح تقول إنها عالجت قواعد الصواريخ الجزئي أو الدمزي (دجره: قت) ودمرت مخازنها، وإما الاحتلال الرمزي لجيوب في محيط الحدود كما حصل في

وحول ما إذا كانت حرب غزة ستقود إسرائيل إلى لجنة تحقيق جديدة تشبه لجنة فينوغراد التي أعقبت حرب لبنان عام 2006، قال إن مجرد الطلاق صواريخ غراد يعني إخفاق الخطة الإسرائيلية، وإن القيادة العسكرية لم تتخذ كافة التدابير التي تستطيع بمقتضاها معالجة الأهداف بشكل تدميري اجتثاثي وهذا سيقود حتما إلى مساءلة كما حصل في لبنان، لكن الذي يحدد مسار الأمور هو الساعات المقلة".

وعن إمكانية حشد قوات برية كبيرة إلى غزة، رأى حطيط أن إسرائيل لا تستطيع عكر ار ما حصل لها في لبنان موضحا أن إسرائيل لم تستطع معالجة مصادر النيران جنوب لبنان قبل إطلاق عمليتها البرية، وبالتالي فإن إخفاقها في تلك المعالجة أدى أن تنطلق بعملية برية قبل أن تطمئن لنتائجها.

كما شدد على أن قدرة المقاومة الفسطينية على إطلاق الصواريخ والتماسك، ورفض الاستسلام يعني "قشل العملية الجوية في تحقيق أهدافها "مضيفا أن ذلك سيضطر

إسرآنيل المنتراجع عن السقف العالمي الذي حددته و هو اجتثاث المقاومة واحتلال القطاع وإخراج المقاومة منه وتسليمه لطرف ثالث".



وشدد الخبير العسكري على أن مجرد جربح إسرائيلي بعد سقوط صاروخ فلسطيني الطلاق صواريخ غزة يعلى وجود مقاومين في هليلة نيتيقوت (دينرز) يتربصون، وعليه فإن إسرائيل ستتردد كثيرا في إطلاق هجومها الواسع "لأنها ستلاقى مجزرة في جنودها، ويكون مآل الحرب معاكسا لما توخته القيادتان السياسية والعسكرية".

سيناريوهات متوقعة

وعن سينار يوهات العملية الإسر البلية، قال حطيط "إذا تحقق للإسر البليين أن العملية لن تؤدي النتائج المرجوء، فإن إسرائيل ستخفض مستوى الأهداف وهو مخرج من الفشل النام، وهذا مألوف في السلوك الإسرائيلي، وحينئذ سنقول إنها تعمل على تقويم سلوك حماس ومنع الصواريخ والتوصل لتفاهمات إزاء الدائها وسلوكها في غزة بدل اجتثاثها وإنهاء حكمها".

كما توقع العمل عبر وسطاء الليميين ودوليين أو طرف ثالث "لإيجاد حل" لكنه قال إن خيار وسيط ثالث أقفل بابه مؤقتا "بعد سقوط مصدر من العنوان الحيادي وخروج تركيا من دائرة الوساطة بين إسرائيل وسوريا وتراجعها عن لعب دور الوسيط في مسائل الشرق الأوسط.

وحول المخرج الأميركي الأوروبي، توقع الخبير العسكري أن يحاول الاتحاد الأوروبي مع واشنطن البحث عن مخرج عير مجلس الأمن بقرار بشبه 1701 دون أن يستبعد محاولة تل أبيب الضغط على المقاومة باحثلال جزئي لغزة كورقة مساومة الكن كلا الأمرين مرهون بما سيقدمه الميدان في تفاعلاته مع عمالية القصف، وبما تظهره قيادة المقاومة من ثبات وتماسك في الموقف".

وخلص العميد حطيط إلى أن الحكم الشهائي على انتجاه العملية العسكرية ضد غزة يحتاج إلى الساعات الثماني والأربعين القادمة، أي التوقيت الذي ستعلن فيه إسرائيل

بدء العملية البرية ضد غزة.

المصدر: الجزيرة

تطيقات القراء

عاصم الحسين هيج

حدة

عندماهجمت اسرائيل على سيناء فتحت مصر باب الجهاد للمتطوعين فخرجوا كثير وهزموا اسرائيل قلو أن الحكام باب الجهاد للمتطوعين لخرجوا كثير وبذلك نستطيع أن نهزم اسرائيل باذن الله

محمد احمد السوقائي

يى

الأخ الخبير العسكري انا كنت ضابط صف في الجيش الاردني وبخيرتي المتواضعة فأن المعادلة لا تحسب هكذا لانة لابوجد شبة بين حزب الله و حماس الا ان حماس ندافع عن ارضها في ضل حصار قوي وغياب لا بل نوم عربي (ندع الله النصر والثبات ااالمين)

مازن

دمشق

صمود المقاومة الفلسطينية حتى اليوم السادس دليل واضح على نجاحهاوثبات صفوفها

الحمد لللهُ الذي هدائنا

فلسطين طولكرم

بداية اشكر أمين حطيط الذي طمننا في هذا الموقف المحرج والكن اطالب العميد ان يحلل له حكومة رام الله ماهي الصوريخ العبثية

عيدالله احمد البورينى

الزرقاء

ومنذ متى كان هذا العدو ينجح باي عمل يقوم به . ان سبب وجودقوم القردة والمختازير كما وصفهم الله رب العزة هو حكامنا ال(...) على مدار السنين الا مارحم ربي وكانوا مغلوبين على امرهم ولكن لاتخافوا يا امة الاسلام والمسلمين فالفرج آت والنصر آت فلابد للليل ان ينجلي ولابد للحق ان ينتصر . وثورة حتى النصر والله اكبر للبيت رب يحميه

memo

إن الحكم إلا لله

حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل فين الحكام العرب من الظلم الفاحش والطائش أيه آخر الإجتماعات دية قهوة وشاي ومياة غازية فين القرارات الصائبة والحاسمة ماشفوش اللي قبلهم سيدنا محمد عليه أفضل الصلاة والسلام في غزوة بدر فين قطز وهزيمته للتتار وصلاح الدين وهين وفين وفين أيام الفتوحات الإسلامية فين وفين وفين وناد..) الحكام العرب المختازلين أقسم بالله و فتحوا لنا الطريق وحارينا هندمر أعداء

الطويل

تحليل جيد ولكن !

اوجه كلماتي الى قاده حماس ، عنصر المفاجئه نصف المعركه هكذا تعلمنا ، واللبيب من الاشاره يقهم . مع احترامي للجميع .

إبراهيم

الوطن العربي

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APPENDIX U

Source: Al Jazeera Date: 3 January 2009 Author: unnamed Palestinian writer URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/89E45D9F-E3EB-4B36-B28F-D138741CA419.htm

The Causes of the Attack on Gaza

Israel needs no reasons to attack Gaza or any other place because it is a nation that from the beginning has attacked and killed and destroyed and left others homeless. The Zionists came to the land of Ash-Sham [Syria, Jordan, Lebanon] and in their heads was the aspiration to establish a national homeland for the Jews on land they called the land of [their] fathers and forefathers. This extends, according to the promise of Abraham, from the Euphrates to the Nile, or from Tripoli in the middle of the [Lebanese] coast to Al-Arish in the Sinai, according to the promise of Moses.

Zionism began with a quiet aggression, with encouragement and support from Britain, and gradually progressed in its aggression after the establishment of the nation until it reached the stage of the bloody strike to the north and the south. Israel has created a cataract of blood since it came into being and in my estimation, the cataract will continue until nothing is left.

Israel thinks up the reasons and the excuses with each new aggression that it launches against the Palestinians and other Arabs, and all of its attacks in the end serve the overarching goal which it works to achieve. Today, it's Gaza's turn for shelling and destruction and the spilling of blood, and Israel is massing its military capabilities, land, sea and air, to carry out its attack. Why has Gaza's turn come, and what are the direct causes which have called Israel to this bloody excursion? I summarize the causes as follows:

[A pulled quote next to the preceding paragraph: "The war now is the alternative choice to the siege. They are attempting with the war to achieve what they were unable to achieve with the siege."]

1) This is a war to finish the siege imposed on the Palestinian people since Hamas won in the legislative elections, and harshly imposed on Gaza since Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip.

The siege aimed at toppling Hamas and removing it from the government and from the Palestinian Authority in general; that was by means of ruining the movement both spiritually and morally, and through inciting the people against it in the hope they would form a mass movement to sacrifice Hamas for the sake of a mouthful of bread.

The thinking was that Hamas would fall from power in Gaza within one to three months, but the months passed and Hamas stayed firm and was able to handle things well in administering Gaza and achieving more support on the Palestinian, Arab and Islamic levels.

The war now is the alternate choice to the siege. They are attempting with the war to achieve what they were unable to achieve with the siege. Who are "they"? "They" are the ones blockading Gaza, and "they" are Israel and the Palestinian Authority and Arab regimes and the rest of the nations of the world. The partners in the siege are the partners in the war, and all of them are intent on ending Hamas' power in Gaza.

2) The concern of the partners in the siege of Gaza with toppling Hamas' authority arose principally from their vision of the special solution to the Palestinian issue.

There is an endeavor based on a solution that is called the "two nation" solution which ends with, according to the substance of the agreements available to us such as the Oslo Accord and the Taba Accords, a Palestinian entity that functions as a security proxy of Israel and which the Palestinians who are going along with [this] solution call a Palestinian state.

With its control of the [Gaza] strip, Hamas foiled the Americans' and Israelis' endeavor, which is also connected to the American-Israeli vision of what the Islamic Arab region called the Middle East ought to be. [Previous sentence was used as a pulled quote next to this paragraph] For this [reason], it was necessary to topple Hamas and return the Gaza strip to its submissive posture [lit. Bayt Al-Ta'ah, the husband's house to which a woman who unlawfully deserts must return] to be part of the solution based on the Road Map which recruits the Palestinians against the Palestinians.

- 3) Hamas is an Islamic resistance movement which regards the acknowledgement of Israel to be forbidden legally [under Islamic law]. Despite the fact that [Hamas] is ready for a long-term truce with Israel, it is not prepared to give up the idea of a sacred Islamic land, and the legitimate duty to liberate the holy places of Islam. For Israel, Hamas constitutes a danger to it now, and perhaps a more serious danger in the future due to the possibility of the massing of Islamic capabilities in many countries to contribute to the Jihad effort. [Hamas] is truly a religious resistance movement that has received eager ears from millions of devout people in the Islamic Arab region.
- 4) Hamas is considered to be [part of] what President Bush termed "the Axis of Evil" which includes Iran. Israel is very suspicious of Iran, and so is the United States and a number of Arab regimes, and all of them are working to push [Iran] back and to swoop down upon it if possible because it represents a new element in the region from the aspect of its having aspirations of being an independent leader, and from the aspect of technological and scientific development and self-reliance.

Whether or not Iran intends to change the situation in the Arab world, its achievements in and of themselves create a factor that stirs the Arab peoples against their leaders, who have become soft to the point of weakness and backwardness. This alone works against the Israeli and American interests which won't be realized without backward, hungry and defeated peoples.

Israel, and with it America and Arab regimes, has worked to bulwark itself behind ideology, and has begun to hint that the Shiites are a source of danger to the Sunnis. The Arab regimes and America and Israel rode the Sunni and Shiite wave, and they strove to rouse their rage against Hamas which has betrayed the Sunni in their eyes. The attempts a sowing dissension failed and Hamas remained in its position, searching for those supporting the Islamic resistance.

5) Hamas's control of Gaza represents a continual embarrassment to the Palestinian Authority in Ramallah and to the Arab regimes because of the blockade imposed on the [Gaza] strip.

The blockade led to the deterioration of the health and living conditions in the Gaza strip, and the lack of medicines and medical equipment led to the death of many sick children and adults. The people immediately began to search for a morsel to eat or for some firewood to fuel the fire, or for a way to travel in order to complete school, or to look for treatment or work.

The dire circumstances in Gaza focused the attention of the Arab and non-Arab news media on the tragedy, and television screens were filled with sad and painful images of the situation. Commentators and analysts pointed their fingers and directed their appeals and accusations at the Arab regimes, considering the responsibility to be first an Arab responsibility and that the Arab regimes most do something. The harsh criticisms began to pour down primarily on the Egyptian government because of the closing of the Rafah crossing.

Things worsened for the Arab regimes when foreign charity groups, media organizations and influential VIPs set out to break the siege of Gaza. Campaigns to break the siege gained wide attention from the media; they were covered like a kind of festival on the TV screens and embarrassed more of the Arab leaders to the degree that the President of the Palestinian Authority expressed a kind of spite when he described the ships breaking the siege as "foolish."

Preserving the contorted Arab regimes which the West calls moderate is an inseparable part of the American-Israeli strategy now; this is because they are tools that facilitate making the Arabs their instruments and keeping them simple-minded. It was essential to lessen this increasing embarrassment which might lead to undesirable popular movements.

[The first sentence in the above paragraph was used as a pull quote next to item 5]

6) It became clear to Israel, as stated by Israeli political officials and the Israeli news media, that Hamas had succeeded in smuggling weapons and money into Gaza.

The sums that [Hamas] had been able to bring in via the tunnels was unknown, but they showed its ability to spend and pay the wages of the thousands of its employees, and deliver assistance to many labor and [small] industry sectors.

As for the weapons, things remained very obscure to Israel, but it tried to determine the capability of Hamas and the Palestinian resistance groups to smuggle or manufacture new combat gear.

Hamas and the other groups took advantage of the period of quiet to organize and train and arm. The time was useful for these groups, and Israel felt as if the [Gaza] strip was turning into military HQs ready for combat. According to Israeli military theory, the anticipatory strike was the right decision.

The timing of the Attack

The issue of the timing of the war or the attack is important in the calculations of nations and armies, because war requires suitable environments both internally and externally, which have a direct relationship to the massing of capabilities and the support of the people and the nations. Israel is not unique in this regard, and it had to work to assess the timing- the positives and the negatives. What follows are the reasons for choosing to attack Gaza at this time from the internal and external aspects.

The Internal Reasons

- 1) In accordance with Israeli security doctrine, I believe that the Israeli attack came late; this is for two reasons:
- A) Israeli security doctrine says that Israel must destroy the enemy force before it possesses a military capability that alarms Israel or threatens its security. This is the philosophy of the preemptive or preventative war. The Palestinian resistance groups have labored on military readiness and preparation over a long period of time, and Israel hasn't done anything except some fringe skirmishes.
- B) The second reason works against the first one; it's that Israel has remained hesitant to attack Gaza because it does not completely know what the capabilities the Palestinian resistance has, either tactical or in terms of armament. [The bolded portion was used a pull quote in the middle of the page] The Palestinian groups were the like an open hand to the Israeli security apparatus, but the last several years saw transformations in the Palestinian security aspirations. This is an indicator of a problem that afflicted the traditional Israeli capability to collect information on the Arabs.

2) Israel was very reluctant to strike Gaza before the last truce with the Palestinian resistance groups. Observers had noted the large number of Israeli threats of a sweeping attack without there being any action. The threats ended with the verbal agreement on the truce.

However it appears that Israel had seen that the truce provided time for the Palestinian groups, and Hamas specifically, to smuggle more weaponry and to strengthen their organizational and tactical capabilities. It then decided to go to war. It was clear that Israel had made the decision to go to war when it overstepped the conditions of the truce by carrying out numerous air raids on military targets in the [Gaza] strip. Israel killed about thirty Palestinians and announced to the world that it was abiding by the truce and that the Palestinian side should abide by the truce as well.

3) The Israeli evaluation of the stumbling progress of the course of the negotiations [between Israel and the Palestinians] was no different than the evaluation of the other parties: Hamas' control of the Gaza strip was a principal reason.

The External Reasons

The following are the foremost external reasons:

1) Some of the Arab regimes and the Palestinian Authority had had enough of Hamas. The negotiations were proceeding slowly but well, and hopes were high of ending the Palestinian issue for good.

Hamas was a big obstacle, in as much as it was not a partner in the negotiations, and the Arabs were very embarrassed as a result of the blockade and the many arrests of [Arabs] in the West Bank.

The aforementioned [Arabs] made it clear that the partners in the blockade wanted a new situation in which Hamas and the resistance groups disappeared. It was clear that the American Secretary of State's threat to Hamas from Cairo gave a strong sign of this Arab direction.

- 2) The results of the American elections may have played a role, as far as the removal of the American concept of Globalization led by Bush and the opening the way to a less racist and extremist American vision. Israel may have thought the new American President wouldn't want to begin his term with a war on Gaza, and it preferred to make its war before the Father of Wars left the White House.
- 3) Israel believes that Hamas is the weak link in the alliance of independent powers in the region which are called the opposition forces. [Even] if it was feeble against Hezbollah, there was nothing to stop it from trying out its muscles on the Palestinian resistance groups.

The Israeli Elections

I don't think that the Israeli elections factor greatly into the Israeli security criteria. It's true that the personality of the Israeli Prime Minister plays a role, and the Israeli government ultimately is the one that issues the decision to go to war and the decision for peace, but the Army and the security apparatus, they have the biggest hand in making the decision.

Israel's army is not a partisan army, nor is it a tool in the hand of the individual or group political institutions. Rather, the elections play a role in massing the Israeli parties for the war. The parties gave their support to the Israeli government and applauded the war, and every party had to out do the others in inflaming emotions and banging the drums.

Conclusion

The Israeli military campaign was expected, and it aimed at altering the existing status in Gaza. The expectation was the expansion of the war to be a land war, and to reach the political leaderships.

But the fundamental Israeli problem is the intransigence of Hamas and the Palestinian groups. The pressure on Israel intensifies from its Arab allies and the human rights organizations and the media if the war is prolonged. The Arab regimes are the weak link for which Israel must make allowances in shortening the duration of the war, and they may be the link which will drive Israel to end the war without achieving its goals.



http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/89E45D9F-E3EB-4B36-B28F-D138741CA419.htm

2/16/2009

تختلق إسرائيل الأسباب والأعذار مع كل عدوان جديد العدمار. الم الفيار العدمار. إنهم من العرب وكل اعتداءاتها في المعاون بالحرب الأنهاء تخدم الهدف الأعم والأشمل الذي تمل على تحقيقه الحصار اليوم هو دور غزة في القصف تحقيقه بالحصار والتدمير وسقك الدماء، وهي التحدد قدرات عسكرية ضخمة

بحرا وبرا وجوا في تتفيذ عدواتها, لماذا أتى دور غزة، وما هي الأسباب المباشرة التي دعت إسرائيل إلى هذه الجولة الدموية؟ الخص الأسباب فيما يلي:

أو لا: هذه حرب مكملة للحصار المضروب على الشعب الفلمطيني منذ أن فازت حماس في الانتخابات التشريعية، والمضروب بصورة شديدة على غزة منذ سيطرة حماس على القطاع.

كان الحصار يهدف إلى إسقاط حركة حماس، وإخراجها من الحكومة ومن السلطة الفلسطينية عموما وذلك من خلال الهاسك الحركة معنويا وأخلاقيا، ومن خلال تأليب الناس عليها عسى أن يقوموا بتحرك جماهيري يضحي بحماس من أجل لقمة الخبر.

وكان الظن أن حماس ستسقط خلال مدة تتر اوح بين شهر وثلاثة أشهر من سيطر تنها على غزة، لكن الأشهر مرت وحماس بقيت صامدة، واستطاعت أن تدبر أمور ها جيدا في إدارة القطاع وتحقق مزيدا من التأبيد على المستويات الفلسطينية والعربية والإسلامية.

الحرب الآن هي الخيار البديل للحصال. إنهم يحاو لون بالحرب تحقيق ما عجزوا عن تحقيقه بالحصار. من هم هو لاء؟ هم المحاصرون لغزة و هم إسرائيل والسلطة الفلسطينية وأنظمة عربية وبقية دول العالم. شركاء الحصار هم شركاء الحرب، وجميعهم معنيون بإنهاء سلطة حماس في غزة.

ثانيا؛ اهتمام شركاء العصبار على غزة بإسقاط سلطة حماس نابع أساسا من رؤيتهم للحل الخاص بالقضية الفلسطينية.

هناك مشروع يقوم على حل يسمى بحل الدولتين الذي يقتهي، وفق مادة الاتفاقيات المتوفرة لديقا مثل اتفاقيتي أوسلو وطابا، إلى كيان فلسطيني يعمل وكيلا أمنيا لإسر اليل يسميه الفلسطينيون المتساوقون مع الحل دولة فلسطينية.

> بميطرتها على القطاع أفسدت حماس على الأمير كيين والإسرائيليين مشروعهم، الذي هو مرتبط أيضا بالرؤية الأمير كية الإسرائيلية لما يجب أن تكون عليه المنطقة العربية الإسلامية المسماة بالشرق الأوسط ولهذا كان لا بد من إسقاط حماس وإعادة قطاع غزة إلى بيت الطاعة ليكون مشمو لا بالحل القائم على خريطة الطريق الذي يجند الفلسطينيين ضد الفلسطينيين.

> ثالثًا: حماس حركة مقاومة إسلامية تعتبر الاعتراف بإسرائيل حراما شرعا، وعلى الرغم من أنها مستعدة لهدنة طويلة الأمد مع إسرائيل، فإنها غير مستعدة للتخلي عن فكرة الأرض الإسلامية المقدسة والواجب الشرعي الخاص بتحرير المقدسات الإسلامية. بالنسبة لإسرائيل تشكل حماس خطرا ماثلا أمامها الأن، وربما خطرا أشد

مستقبلا بسبب إمكانية حشد طاقات إسلامية في دول عديدة للمساهمة في المجهود الجهادي. إنها حركة مقاومة دينية تلقى أذانا صاغية من ملايين المتدينين في



سيطرتها على القطاع المدت حماس على الأمير كيين والإسرائيليين مشروعهم، الذي هو مرتبط أيضا بالروية لما يجب أن تكون عليه الإسلامية المربية الإسلامية المسماة بالشرق الأوسط بالشرق الأوسط المسلوة المسماة المسلوة المسلوة

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/89E45D9F-E3EB-4B36-B28F-D138741CA419.htm

المنطقة العربية الإسلامية.

حماس بالنسبة لإسر ائيل لا تتوقف عن تحسين أدانها الجهادي بالتدريب والتنظيم والسرية وتحسين وسائلها القتالية وأساليبها، وهي تنظيم منهمك في الإعداد والاستعداد، ويوميا يراكم المزيد من القوة التي تشكل خطرا على أمن إسرائيل.

رابعا: حماس محسوبة على ما أسماه الرئيس بوش "محور الشر" الذي يضم إيران. إسرائيل مرتابة جدا من إيران، وكذلك الولايات المتحدة والعديد من الأنظمة العربية، وجميعهم يعملون على تحجيمها، والانقضاض عليها إن أمكن لأنها تمثل عنصر ا جديدا في المنطقة من ناحية الطموح الاستقلالي القيادي، ومن ناحية التطوير العلمي والتقني والاعتماد على الذات.

سواء قوت إيران أو لم تنو تغيير الأوضاع في الوطن العربي، فإنجاز اتها في حد ذاتها تشكل عامل تحريض للشعوب العربية على حكامها الذين استرخوا للضعف والتخلف. وهذا في حد ذاته يعمل ضد المصالح الإسر انبلية والأميركية التي لا تتحقق إلا بشعوب متخلفة جانعة مهزومة.

عملت إسرائيل ومعها أميركا وأنظمة عربية على التمترس خلف فكرة المذهبية وأخذت تغمز على الشيعة بوصفهم مصدر خطر على السنة. ركب موجة السنة والشيعة كل من والى الأنظمة العربية وأميركا وإسرائيل، وصبوا جام خصبهم على حماس التي تخون أهل السنة في نظر هم. فشلت محاولات الفتنة واستمرت حماس في موقفها الباحث عن داعمين للمقاومة الفلسطينية.

خامسا: تشكل سلطة حماس في غزة إحراجا متواصلا للسلطة الفلسطينية في رام الله وللأنظمة العربية بسبب الحصار المضروب على القطاع.

أدى الحصار إلى تدهور الأوضاع المعيشية والصحية في المعتدلة، جزء لا قطاع غزة، وأدت قلة الأدوية والاجهزة الطبية إلى وفاة المناسبة المن الارتراقية والإجهزة الطبية إلى وفاة يتجزأ من الإستراتيجية العديد من المرضى والأطفال، وطفق الناس ببحثون عن لقمة الخبز، أو عن بعض الحطب ليوقدوا الفار، أو عن وسيلة للسفر من أجل إكمال الدراسة، أو البحث عن علاج

وتسبب ضيق الأحوال بغزة في تركيز وسائل الإعلام العربية وغير العربية على الماساة، وامتلات شاشات الفضائيات بالصور المحزنة والمؤلمة حول الأوضاع،

ووجه المعلقون والمحللون أصابعهم ومناشداتهم واتهاماتهم نحو الأنظمة العربية معتبرين أن المسؤولية هي مسؤولية عربية أولا، وأن على الأنظمة العربية أن تصنع شيئا. وبدأت الانتقادات الشديدة تنهال على النظام المصري بسبب إغلاق معبر رفح بصورة أساسية.

از دادت الأمور سوءا بالنسبة للأنظمة العربية عندما هبت جمعيات أجنبية خيرية ومؤسسات إعلامية وشخصيات مؤثرة لكسر الحصار على غزة. حازت حملات كُسر الحصار على اهتمام وأسع من أقبل وسائل الإعلام، وتمت تغطيقها بنوع من المهرجانية على شاشات التلفاز، وأحرجت المزيد من القادة العرب إلى درجة أن رئيس السلطة الفلسطينية عبر عن نوع من الغل عندما وصف سفن كسر الحصائر بانها "سخيفة".

المحافظة على الأنظمة العربية المعوجة، التي يسميها الغرب بالمعتدلة، جزء لا يتجزأ من الإستراتيجية الإسرائيلية الأميركية الأن، وذلك لأنها هي الأدوات التي تسهل امتطاء العرب والإبقاء عليهم قِلهًا. كان لا يد من القيام بعمل يرفع هذا الاحراج المتزايد للأنظمة الذي من المحتمل أن يقود إلى حركات شعبية غير

المحافظة على الأنظمة العربية المعوجة، التي يسميها الغرب

الإسرائيلية الأميركية

الْأَنَّ وَذَلِكَ لأَنْهَا هِي

الأدوات التي تسهل امتطاء العرب والإبقاء

عليهم بُلهًا

سادسا: بات واضحا أمام إسرائيل كما ورد على لمان مسؤولين إسرائيليين سياسيين وفي وساتل الإعلام الإسر انيلية أن حماس نجحت في تهريب أسلحة وأموال إلى القطاع.

لم تكن معروفة المبالغ التي استطاعت إدخالها عبر الأنفاق، ولكنها أظهرت قدرتها على الإنفاق وصرف رواتب الاف الموظفين لديها، وصرف معونات للعديد من القطاعات العمالية والحرفية.

أما بالنسبة للأسلحة فبقيت الأمور غامضة جدا بالنسبة لإسرائيل، لكنها تحسست قدرة حماس والفصائل الفلسطينية المقاومة على تهريب أو صناعة أدوات قتالية

استغلت حماس والفصائل الأخرى فترة التهدئة للتتظيم والتدريف والتسليح. ولم يضع الوقت سدى بالنسبة لهذه الفصائل، وشعرت إسرائيل بأن القطاع يتحول إلى بؤر عسكرية مستعدة للفتال. وحسب النظرية الأمنية الإسرائيلية، فالضربة الاستباقية هي القرار الصحيح.

توقيت العدوان

مسألة توقيت الحرب أو العدوان مهمة في حسابات الدول والجيوش، وذلك لأن الحرب تتطلب الأجواء المناسبة داخليا وخارجيا، التي لها علاقة مباشرة بحشد الطاقات ودعم الناس والدول. إسرائيل لا تشذ عن هذه القاعدة، ولا بد أنها عملت على تقييم التوقيت بحلوه ومره. وفيما يلي أسباب اختيار الهجوم على غزة في هذا الوقت بشقيها الداخلي والخارجي:

الأسباب الداخلية أولا: وفق النظرية الأمنية الإسرائيلية، أرى أن الهجوم الاسر البلي جاء متأخرا وذلك لسببين هما:

أ- تقول النظرية الأمنية الإسرائيلية إن على إسرائيل أن تدمر القوة المعادية قبل أن تمثلك قدرة عسكرية ترّعج إسرائيل أو تؤثر على أمنها. هذه هي فلسفة الحرب الوقائية أو الاستباقية. فصائل المقاومة الفلسطينية عملت على ألإعداد والاستعداد العسكري على مدى فترة من الزمن، ولم تقم إسرائيل إلا ببعض الاعتداءات الهامشية.

إسرائيل بقيت مترددة في الهجوم على غزة لأتها لا تعرف تماما ما عند المقاومة القلسطينية من قدرات سواء كانت تسليحية أو تكتيكية

ب- السبب الثاني يعمل ضد السبب الأول و هو أن إسرائيل بقيت مترددة في الهجوم على غزة الأنها لا تعرف تماما ما عند المقاومة القلسطينية من قدرات سواء كانت تسليمية أو تكنيكية. كانت الفصائل الفلسطينية عبارة عن كف مفتوح أمام الجهزة الأمن الإسر انبِلْية، لكن السنوات الأخيرة شهدت تحولات في الحرص الأمنى الفلسطيني. هذا مؤشر على خلل قد أصاب قدرة إسرائيل التقليدية على جمع المعلومات عن العرب.

ثانيا: ترددت إسرائيل كثيرا قبل التهدئة الأخيرة مع الفصائل الفلسطينية المقاومة في ضرب غزة، وقد لاحظ المراقبون كثرة التهديدات الإسرائيلية بالهجوم الكاسح دون أن يكون هناك فعل. وقد انتهت التهديدات بالموافقة الشفوية على التهدئة.

لكن يبدو أن إسرائيل قد رأت أن التهدنة وفرت الوقت للفصائل الفلسطينية وبالتحديد حماس لتهريب المزيد من الأسلحة ولتعزيز قدراتها التنظيمية والتكتيكية، قررت الذهاب إلى الحرب كأن واضحا أن إسرائيل قد اتخذت قرار الحرب عندما قامت بتجاوز شروط التهدنة بتنفيذ غارات جوية عدة على أهداف عسكرية في القطاع قتلت إسرائيل حوالي ثلاثين فلسطينيا وهي تعلن أمام العالم أنها ملتزمة بالتهدنة وعلى الجانب الفلسطيني أن يبقى ملتزما

ثالثًا: لم يختلف التقييم الإسرائيلي بشأن تعثر المسيرة التفاوضية عن تقييم الأطراف الأخرى في أن سيطرة حماس على القطاع كانت سببا رئيسيا.

الأسباب الخارجية تبرز خارجيا الأسباب التالية

أولا: ضاقت بعض الأنظمة العربية والسلطة الفلسطينية ذرعا يحماس. كانت المُسْيِرة التفاوضية تسير بيطه ولكن بسلاسة، وكانت الأمال كبيرة في الانتهاء من المُصَيدة الفاسطينية الى الأبد,

شكلت حماس عقبة كبيرة من حيث إنها ليست شريكا في المفاوضات، ومن حيث وقوع العرب في حرج كبير نتيجة الحصار ونتيجة الاعتقالات الكبيرة في صفوف أتصار ها في الصفة الغربية.

وقد أوضحت أعلاه أن شركاه الحصار أرادوا وضعا جديدا تختفي فيه حماس وفصاتل المقاومة, وواضح أن تهديد وزيرة خارجية إسرائيل لحماس من القاهرة يعطي مؤشرا قويا على هذا التوجه العربي.

ثانيا: ربما لعبت نتاتج الانتخابات الأميركية دورا من حيث انصار فكرة العولمة لى الله التى يقودها بوش، وقتح الطريق أمام رؤية أميركية أقل عنصرية وأخف الأميركية التى يقودها بوش، وقتح الطريق أمام رؤية أميركية أقل عنصرية وأخف تطرفا ربما ظنت إسرائيل أن الرئيس الأميركي الجديد لا يريد أن يبدأ عهده بحرب على غزة، وفضلت أن تقوم بحربها قبل أن يغادر أبو الحروب البيت

ثالثًا: ترى إسرائيل أن حماس هي الحلقة الأضعف في تحالف قوى الاستقلال في المنطقة التي تسمى قوى المماتعة، وإذا كاتت قد عجزت أمام حزب الله، فلا ماتع من أن تجرب عضلاتها بفصائل المقاومة الفلسطينية.

الانتخابات الاسرائيلية

لا أرى أن الانتخابات الإسرائيلية تدخل بقوة في المعايير الأمنية الإسرائيلية. صحيح أن شخصية رئيس الوزراء الإسرائيلي تلعب دورا، والحكومة الإسرائيلية في النهاية هي التي تصدر قرار الحرب وقرار السلام، لكن الجيش تراعيها في تقصير أمد والأجهزة الأمنية هما صاحبا اليد الطولي في اتخاذ الحرب، وربما هي

إسرانيل إلى وقف جيش إسرائيل ليس جيشا حزبيا، ولا هو أداة بيد المصالح الحرب دون تحقيق السياسية الفردية أو الفئوبية، وإقما تلعب الانتخابات الأن أهداف دورا في حشد الأحزاب الإسرانيلية لصالح الحرب. قدمت الأحزاب دعمها للحكومة الإسرائيلية، وصفقت للحرب، ولا مجال لحزب لكي يزايد على الأخر في تأجيج المشاعر ودق الطبول.

الغلاصة

كانت الحملة العسكرية الإسر انبلية متوقعة، وهي تهدف إلى تغيير الوضع القائم في غزة. المتوقع هو توسيع الحرب لتكون برية، ولتصل قيادات سياسية.

لكن مشكلة إسر انيل الأساسية هي في صمود حماس والفصائل الفلسطينية. الضغط على إسر انيل سيز داد من قبل حلفاتها العرب، ومن قبل منظمات حقوق الإنسان ووساقل الإعلام إن طالت الحرب الأنظمة العربية هي الطقة الأضعف التي على إسرائيل أن تراعيها في تقصير أمد الحرب، وربما هي الحلقة التي ستقود إسرائيل إلى وقف الحرب دون تحقيق أهداف

كاتب فلسطيني

المصدر:الجزيرة

الأنظمة العربية هي الحلقة الأضعف التي

على إسرائيل أن

الحرب، وريما هي الحلقة التي ستقود

تطيقات القراء

waleed kamal

kuwait

ياترى امتى حلفاء اسر اثيل العرب هيئقوا الله في انفسهم وفي شعبهم ؟ لا اقل غير لا اله الا الله ولا حول و لا قوة الا بالله وحسبي الله ونعم الوكيل والله اكبر على كل ظالم وخانن

محمد عطية العلول

الامارات

اسر اتيل تحاول القضاء على حماس لكنها الن تستطيع لقوة ايمان حماس. و كل هذا الحصار الذي في غزة هو بسبب مصر...

حسن فادى فؤاد

مصر

حسبى الله ونعمه الوكيل في اسر انيل ومن شارك معهم ونهنئ الفلسطينين بالفوز العظيم بالجنه والشهاده والفردوس الاعلى واحنا معاكم بقلوينا ويدعوننا

قادى المصرى

مصر

يا يهود يا يهود جيش محمد سوف يعود

صلاح فايز وردائي

كويت

اقلو َ لَاهل غزة هتينان بل الشهادة يا اهل غزة اصبرو وصابرو وجاهدو ووالله النصر قريب

محمد امير

الخرطوم

المقال مُمْتَاز ولاننسا اقتراب الانتخابات الاسرائيلية وهذا سبب رئيس في توقيت هذه الحرب اللهم انصر اهل غزة

عبده أحمد الحيص

بصر

أقول الأهل غزة يأيها الذين آمقوا اصبروا و صابروا ورابطوا و اثقوا الله لعلكم تفلحون وإلى ديان الدين نمضى *وعند الله تجتمع الخصوم ولكن لى سؤال: هل لو جعل الأنجليز في الماضى غزة دولة مستقلة عن فلسطين أكنا نرجعها إلى فلسطين أم ماذا...؟

warda

maroc

لاحول و قوة الابالله الله و ملائكته مع اهل غزة واتمنى بان فتوقف عن الفرجة والبكاء و نهم بمساعدة اخو انشاو لو بما يعادل دو لار واحد لكل مسلم

sana lmaghribiya

maroc agadir

اللهم انصر أخواننا في غزة قلوبنا معكم

فلسطينيه مهجره من العراق

اللهم انصر غزه وحماس وكل مجاهد ومرابط على ارض فلسطين وكل بلاد المسلمين. لكن يا حماس لا تأمني لاحفاد ابن العلقمي فاقد و الله أذاقوا الهلكم الفلسطينيين في العراق الامرين منذ تعاون ايران مع امريكا في العراق. تنبهوا ... لا تنموا فائتم ليس الا ورقه يستعملها هؤلاء لأغراض النم وانا نعرفها!!! وانا لا اؤيد هذا المقال في ان الغرب هو من اشعل الفتنه بل ان هؤلاء القوم استعملهم الاستعمار منذ فجر الاسلام للغضاء على الاسلام وتشويهه. قله صاقه موحده لله افضل 1000 مره من كثره فيها البدع والشرك

<< 987654321

APPENDIX V

Source: Al Jazeera Date: 2 February 2009 Author: *Diya' al-Kahlout*

URL: http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/8534EF6E-903A-41C5-8733-

7E24E156AB31.htm

Testimonials of the Occupation's Execution of Palestinians During the Gaza War

During the Israeli war on Gaza, the occupation troops left the young man Youssef Omer Labid, a fighter in the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades, the military wing of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) bleeding for five hours in the place where he had fallen in the intelligence-operations area west of the Jabaliya refugee camp in the northern Gaza strip.

The Israeli soldiers prevented the International Red Cross and Palestinian ambulance crews from getting near the injured Labid and dozens of others during the recent war, and the al-Qasam fighter died after five hours during which he bled out without a single hand being lifted to save his life.

Ibrahim, brother of the Palestinian opposition fighter, told alJazeera.net that the occupation forces intentionally left his brother bleeding to death after he had been shot in the foot by a sniper. He stated that they didn't listen to the cries to evacuate the injured from the military operations zone.

He Bled To Death

Ibrahim added, "My brother and another resistance fighter were shot at 2 AM and the occupation soldiers left him bleeding until 7AM," clarifying that it was possible to treat his brother and for him to survive, but the occupation executed him and dozens of citizens like him.

Hasan, another brother of the martyred Labid, told alJazeera.net that people contacted crews from Palestinian emergency services and the Red Cross after his brother and another fighter were injured, but they told [the people] that the occupation refused to allow them to transport the injured and warned them against approaching the area, claiming that the entire area was a closed military operations zone.

The Execution of Families

In the same context, the freed prisoner and expert in Prisoners Affairs Abd al-Nasser Farawana related that the occupation forces executed entire families during the war on Gaza after bringing the houses down on the heads of their inhabitants, despite their screams and their cries and the appearance of what was certainly people inside them.

Farawana said that the martyr Shadi Hamad from the town of Bayt Hanoun in the northern strip was arrested by forces of the occupation with a group of citizens and led them away to the border area and took them towards east of Jabaliya, then released them and asked them to return to the strip; [the people] went west on al-Qadam Street towards

Jabaliya, and when they neared the Al-Sadiq mosque, they were fired upon by heavy fire accompanied by a tank shell, which resulted in the martyrdom of Shadi and the miraculous survival of the others.

[Farawana] explained that the emergency crews were unable to extract Shadi Hamad and he remained for three days discarded in the middle of the road before the citizens were able to pull him away.

Farwana demanded that an independent international commission be formed to investigate the circumstances of the occupation forces' direct execution of a number of the unarmed detainees after their arrest during the war on Gaza, and the murder of a number of innocent citizens in various ways and locations, as he considers these war crimes. [He also demanded] the investigation of the circumstances of the death of dozens of unarmed citizens whose bodies were found discarded on the roads or in their homes and apartments after the withdrawal of the occupation from them.

He said that "What makes us worry and calls us to continually demand the need to investigate is that we frequently hear every day many testimonials and tales and painful stories that chill the blood of incidents of premeditated murder and the insistence of the occupation authorities on not cooperating with the Red Cross organization or complying with the demands of the Palestinian Authority regarding those they are detaining."



http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/8534EF6E-903A-41C5-8733-7E24E156AB31.htm

Scholar 7000N

على طواقم الإسعاف والصليب الأحمر عقب إصابة شقيقه والمقاتل الأخر، لكنهم أبلغوهم بأن الاحتلال يرفض السماح لهم بنقل المصايين وحذرهم من الاقتراب من المنطقة بدعوى أنها بمجملها منطقة عمليات عسكرية مغلقة.

إعدام عائلات

وفي السياق ذاته روى الأسير المحرر والخبير في شؤون الخبير في شؤون الأسرى الفلسطينيين الأسرى الفلسطينيين الأسرى الفلسطينيين الحرب على غزة عاتلات بأكملها بعد هدم البيوت فوق الله عند الناصر قراونة ووس ساكنيها، رغم علو صرخاتهم وقداءاتهم وظهور ما يتثكيل لجنة المربع وجود أناس بداخلها.

وقال فروانة إن الشهيد شادي حمد من بلدة بيت حانون شمال الاحتلال بشكل مباش واقتادتهم إلى أطراف الحدود و سازوا بهم باتجاه شرق جباليا عندا من المعتقلين ثم أطلقوا سراحهم وطلبوا منهم المعودة إلى القطاع فسازوا العزل عربا في شارع القرم باتجاه جباليا، و عند اقتر ابهم من مسجد الصديق أطلقت عليهم النير ان بكثافة متر افقة مع قذيفة دبابة، ما أدى إلى استشهاد شادي و فجاة الأخرين بأعجوبة.

الخبير في شؤون الأسرى الفلسطينيين عبد الناصر قراونة طالب يتشكيل لجنة دولية مستقلة للتحقيق في ظروف إعدام الاحتلال بشكل مباشر عددا من المعتقلين العزل

وأوضح أن طواقم الإسعاف لم تتمكن من انتشال الشهيد شادي حمد وبقي ثلاثة أيام ملقى على قارعة الطريق قبل أن يتمكن المواطنون من سحبه.

وطالب قروانة بتشكيل لجنة دولية مستقلة للتحقيق في ظروف إعدام الاحتلال بشكل مباشر عددا من المعتقلين العزل بعد اعتقالهم خلال الحرب على غزة، وقتل عدد من المواطنين الأبرياء بأشكل عدة وفي أماكن مختلفة باعتبار ها جرائم حرب، والتحقيق أيضاً في ظروف استشهاد عشرات من المواطنين الغزل وجدت جثامينهم ملقاة على الطرقات أو داخل بيوتهم وشققهم السكنية بعد السحاب الإحتلال منها.

وقال إن "ما يدفعنا للقلق ويدعونا للمطالبة المستمرة بضرورة التحقيق هو ما يتردد على مسامعنا يومياً من شهادات وروايات عديدة وقصص مؤلمة تقشعر لها الأبدان لحوادث القتل المتمد وإصرار سلطات الاحتلال على عدم التعاون مع منظمة الصليب الأحمر أو الاستجابة لمطالب السلطة الفلسطينية فيما يتعلق بالمحتجزين لديها".

Δ

المصدر: الجزيرة



تعليقات القراء

هبه محمد

حي الشجاعية

اقول و لا املك سوى القول والدعاء و لاتحسين الذين قتلوا في سبيل الله امواتا بالحياء عند ربهم يرزقون فمبروك لك الشهادة و الخزي والعار لنا نحن والله لاقول غير الله يطعمني الشهادة مع ابناء بلدي في فلسطين

رفح

الاحتلال الصهيوني لا يبيد البشر فقط إنما يبيد البشر والحجر والشجر ويبيد معهم كل شئ يشهد عليهم ولا يترك وراءه اي أثر علي جرائمه، بحيث يمسح المنطقة ويجرفها بحيث لو شاهدها أحد لا يصدق أنها كانت معمورة. والباقي على الحلفاء

doaa fozi smony

فأسطين

نشكر قذاة الجزيرة على تغطية كل ما حدث وبالتفصيل في حرب غزة

Next Condor

مغرب

أظن أن هذا المقال إحتوى ألطف ما يمكن أن يقوم به جزار و الإحتلال بالشعب

http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/8534EF6E-903A-41C5-8733-7E24E156AB31.htm

الفلسطيني. أقول أنا من هنا لكل قائد عربي إنني من الشعب و أعرف الشعب, كلفا مستعدون أن نفعل بدماتنا ما عجتم أن تقوموا به أنتم بقياداتكم, نطلب منكم فقط عدمملاحقة الشباب الذي يبحث عن الطريق إلى الجهاد.

> حمزه haifa

ان شاء الله سياتي يوما نفعل بالعرب ما يفعل بقا وهم ينظرون

عربي | دولي | رياضة | ثقافة وفن | طب وصحة | منوعات | تقارير وحوارات | جولة الصحافة | كاريكاتير

جميع حقوق النشر محفوظة 🙆 2000-2009 م (انظر اتفاقية استخدام الموقع)

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APPENDIX W

Source: Al Manar Date: 16 February 2009 Author: Mohammed Abdullah—exclusive

for the Al-Manar channel website

URL: http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=74169

Mr Nasrallah Neither Confirms Nor Denies That the Resistance Has Obtained Air Defence

The General Secretary of Hezbollah Mr Hassan Nasrallah presented a political and military approach to the Israeli-Arab conflict. His Eminence did not deny or confirm that the resistance in Lebanon possessed air defense weapons, but he asserted that the resistance has the right to possess these weapons and it has the right to use them, indicating that the resistance has the will and the courage to use these weapons in defense of its land and people.

The General Secretary of Hezbollah stressed at the Celebration of the Loyalty to the Martyrs at the Sayyed al-Shouhaddaa complex in the Beirut suburb of Al-Dahiya that this matter will lead to changing the balance of the war. He responded to the enemy's threats regarding the possibility of the resistance possessing a weapon like this by saying: "We don't rush into battle on the basis of heroic stories and exaggerations, but on the basis of surprises. What I want to assert is that we have the right to possess any weapon, including air defense weaponry, and we also have every right to use this weaponry if we wish. The time has passed where we act as if we are weak."

3/1/2009



http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=74169.&language=ar

	يقين أن هذه الانتخابات مهمة جداً، وعلى الناس أن يؤمنوا مقدمات مشاركتهم في الانتخابات من تأمين بطاقة الهوية الي التأكد من وجود اسماتهم على لواتح الشطب الى التأكد والتيصر من خياراتهم الانتخابية". وشدد سماحته على تقديم الخطاب الهادك من دون دفع الساحة الى الإستغرار والتصادم، مؤكداً وعلى ابواب الانتخابات ان
13/2009	لبنان هذا "ليس سويسرا لكي نقيم له استراتيجية دفاعية سويسرية، ولا هو سويسرا عندما نتكلم عن موضوع الادارة والحكم"،
انتخاباد	وَّاكد السُديد نصرالله انه في لبنان نحن محكومون بالتوافق والشراكة سواء حصلت المعارضة على الأغلبية أو الموالاة. وقال: "ولا مشكلة اذا اختلفوا في مجلس الوزراء أفضل من أن يختلفوا ويتقاتلوا في الشارع".
13/2009	
الرنيس	حيار التسوية سقط الأمين العام لحزب الله أكد أن خيار التسوية مع العدو الاسرائيلي أثبت فشله على مدار السنين الماضية. موضحاً أنه كلما قدم العرب مزيداً من التنازلات لاسوائيل تزداد هي في التشدد والقتل والاغتيالات وفي شن الحروب.
13/2009	خدم العرب مزيدا من السارف فسوائيل فرداد هاي حي التسدد والفيل والإغليالات وفي التبني الحروب. وشدد الأمين العام لحزب الله انه وبالشواهد كلما كنا كغرب نقدم تنازلات كان الاسرائيلي يزداد فتلاً واغتيالاً وتنصلاً من
سورية بؤكد عد	اتفاقات سابقة وطمعها بأرضنا ومياهنا. الانتخابات الاسرائيلية
	وتوقف االسيد نصرالله عند النتائج الخطيرة للانتخابات الاسرائيلية الأحيرة معلناً ان التاريخ المعاصر يؤكد الاستنتاج بان كل الأحزاب الاسرائيلية اسوأ من بعضها البعض، مشيرا آنه كلما ذهب العدو التي اليمين والتشدد يقل الكذب الاسرائيلي والخداع والاستخفاف بعقول العرب، وموضحاً بالقول لكن النتيجة الجيدة مع اليمين أن اسرائيل تصبح أوضح والنتيجة الثانية أن هؤلاء اللقادة الاسرائيليين تمت تجربتهم، وكلهم هزموا في لينان فلا يخوفنا أحد منهم".
12/2009	
استرحا الضباط	تجربه غزة والعبر منها السيد نصرالله شدد على ات تجربة غزة من الصمود البطولي والأسطوري للمقاومة في غزة أعطت إضافة نوعية لانتصار تموز، موضحاً ان الاسرائيلي. اخطأ بنفس الطريفة واعتمد على سلاح الجو الذي لم يتمكن من حسم المعركة.
13/2009	تموز، موضحاً ان الاسترائيلي. اخطأ بنفس الطريقة واعتمد على سلاح الجو الذي لم يتمكن من حسم المعركة.
اطلاق ا	واكد السيد نصرالله ان من اهم العبر في حرب غزة ان القوات البرية الإسرائيلية هي اعجز من ان تحسم معركة وان تدخل في معركة حقيقية، وتوجه السيد نصرالله للعدو بالقول: "هم يتوعدوننا ونجن نتوعدهم بما اعده لهم عماد، من عشـق
12/2:009	حي معرف حميهه. ويوب السيد تصراته تتعدو بالقول، هم يتوعدونه وبحق لتوغيدهم بما أعده نهم عماد، من عسيق العباس وارادة الراغب، نعم لاي حكومة اسرائيلية، لو فكرت اي يوم ان ترسل فرقها والويتها وجيشها الى ارضنا وقرانا لتحتل
الغضاء اللبنانيي	فستدمر بايد تلامذة عماد مغنية وعباس الموسوي وراغب حرب".
	تص كلمة الامين العامر لحزب الله:

في البداية أرحب بكم جميعاً في حفل تكريمنا للقادة الشهداء في ذكراهم السنوية، من شيخ الشهداء الشيخ راغب حرب، إلى سيد الشهداء السيد عباد مفنية، وتأدي المناسبة هذا العام لطيقة زكية مباركة في تناسبها والتقانها وترامنها مع ذكرك أربعين سيد الشهداء حفيد رسول الله أبي عبد الله الحسين (ع). هذه الذكرك في تناسبها والتقانها وترامنها مع ذكرك أربعين سيد الشهداء حفيد رسول الله أبي عبد الله الحسين (ع). هذه الذكرك العالم وهذا اليوم العظيم الذي تحدد في معنى الأربعين رحلة الثبات بعد الشهادة في يوم العاشر من محرم، رحلة السبايا من السباء والأطفال الأيتام تقودهم زينب(ع) ومعها زين العابدين في رحلة الألم الطويلة، ولكن في رحلة الثبات الطويلة، في رحلة الصب والعمود والإمرادة وقول الحق عند سلطان ظالم مهما كانت الأخطار ومهما كان التهديد ومهما كان الذي ينتظر المعتقلين والمسبيات. في رحلة الأربعين هي رحلة الأربعين هي رحلة الذي تحتاجه بعد كل دو، هي رحلة التحتجرة الناطقة الذي سقطت في المعكرة، ولذلك ترك الحتجرة الناطقة التي سقطت في المعكرة، ولذلك ترك ليد وزناد، رحلة الأربعين هي رحلة تثبيت وتأكيد القضية وتبيين المطلومية والتيات والشجاعة والحماس والاصرار على ليا التاريخ من ذكرك الأربعين كلمات عظيمة في الفكر والعقيدة والعاطفة والتقافة والتبات والشجاعة والحماس والاصرار على عن الشهداء اللقادة عن المقاومة وفلسطين وعن لبنان، استحضر مؤلفين عندماً دحلت السبايا إلى والي الكوفة ابن زياد، أراد أن يشمت كما يحاول كل عدو أن يشمت بعائلة شهيد، نظر إلى زينب وقال لها "أرأيت صنع الله يأحيلا"، تقلة وتصميا والمامها وقائدها وأبناء أودية ليسادة المي المياء الشهداء عبوما المالم أن تقول؟ تقف زيب تنقول " ما رأيت إلا جميلا". هذه هي تفافة الشهادة، هولانا الشهداء لم منات العبرة الشهداء عبوم الشعرة الميامة والمياه في مرابط النعيم والضوئة والميامة وعدما تحتيد المياء وتخاصم يوم الشياءة وتصامر يوم القيامة عندما تحتيد في يميلاً، أولئك أدن في تحتياً تحتياً تحتياً تحتياً تحتياً تحتياً وتخاصم يوم المياء وتخاصم يوم المياء عندما تحتياً وقياً تحتياً تحتياً تحتياً تحتياً العبدة والمياء وتخاصم يوم القياء وتخاصم يوم القيل فيراء التحتياً الأدرة إلى المياة أدن أدنا وتخاصم يوم المياء وتخاصم يوم الكياء المياء أدناء المياء المياء وتخاصم يعتماً تحتياً تحتياً تحتياً المياء وأدناً أدنا وتحياً الأ

هؤلاء إذاً برزوا باختيارهم. بإرادتهم إلى المضاجع التي شاء الله لهم أن ينالوا من خلالها عزاً وشرفاً وكرامة، وأن تكون دماءهم الركبة طريق حياة للرسالة والأمة إلى يوم الفيامة. واخر يهدد زين العابدين بالقتل لأنه قال ما قال في ذاك المجلس، فكات الموقف الذي لطالما سمعتموه في السنوات العاضية، ولكنني أرددة اليوم، أرددة بين يذي السيد عياس والخاج عماد

3/1/2009

http://www.almanar.com.lb/NewsSite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=74169&language=ar

02/2009

بعد نفر

02/2009

01/2009

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'Resistance Has Right to Possess and Use Anti-Aircraft Weapons'

Hussein Assi Readers Number : 2150



16/02/2009 Hezbollah Secretary General Sayyed Hasan Nasrallah declared on Monday that the Islamic Resistance has the full right to possess all kinds of weaponry, including anti-Aircraft weapons, emphasizing that the Resistance has the courage to use such weapons. His eminence renewed his pledge to retaliate the assassination of Islamic Resistance top commander Imad Moghniyyeh (Hajj Redwan), noting that the Resistance's great martyr has scared the Israelis following his assassination more than ever.



Sayyed Nasrallah was speaking through a large screen during a ceremony organized by Hezboliah in the Sayyed al-Shouhadaa complex at the southern suburb of Beirut to



mark the day of "loyality to martyrs" and remember the sacrifices made by the Resistance martyrs and heroes, mainly the Islamic Resistance "martyrs' Sheikh" Ragheb Harb, the "martyrs' Sayyed" Abbas Moussaoui and Imad Moghniyyeh (Hajj Redwan).

Sayyed Nasrallah started his speech by recognizing and honoring the sacrifices paid by the Resistance's martyrs and heroes for the interest of Lebanon, the whole Lebanon. "The blood of the Martyrs has returned the citizens of Marjayoun, Hasbaya, Shebaa and Bint Jbeil to their lands and homes without differentiating between those who follow the loyalty or the opposition, and with all the pride and dignity," his eminence recalled, noting that "it's therefore our duty to appreciate those martyrs and highly value their sacrifices."



SAYYED NASRALLAH: SETTLEMENT OPTION IS FIASCO

Sayyed Nasrallah then tackled the relation with the Zionist enemy, noting that Lebanon was split over major political choices. "There are three options in this regard. The first one isn't actually a choice since it stimulates approving the enemy's existence and thus, cooperating with the enemy," his eminence said, noting at the same time that this option couldn't be a "popular" one in Lebanon and the Arab world. "However, there are Israeli agents among Arabs, Lebanese and Palestinians.



"The second option was to conclude a settlement with the enemy," the Resistance leader pointed out. "It means that you offer the enemy some concessions in order to get some of the extorted legal rights," his emimence explained. "However, this choice proved its failure and flasco."



While pointing that "the more concessions the Arabs give, the more arrogant Israel becomes," Sayyed Nasrallah noted that the third option rejects settlement with the enemy. "It is the resistance option," his eminence emphasized. "Why do you want to sacrifice the Resistance for free?" Sayyed Nasrallah asked those who reject this option. "As long as the Arabs grant Israel more concessions, then the enemy will become even flercer and will not honor its past commitments," Sayyed Nasrallah noted.

http://www.almanar.com.lb/newssite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=74274&searchText=Air defense&language=en

3/1/2009

	SAYYED NASRALLAH: ALL ISRAELI LEADERS WERE DEFEATED IN LEBANON	Do yo
	"The Kuwait summit clearly indicates that the Arab peace initiative will not survive any longer," Hezboliah Secretary General said. "Yet, before this summit, the Israeli answer to the Arab sticking to the Arab initiative was	outco:
	more extremism. The answer also came out during the Israeli elections." Sayyed Nasrallah concluded that	O No
	compromise with the enemy means conceding territories, the Quds, our security, and water in return for some of our seized lands, some prisoners and a small numbers of refugees.	OI
	our sexeu tantes, outre provincio anu a sinan mannona vi recegoesi	Total
	The Resistance leader said that the right-wing victory in the Israeli elections correctly reflects its image. However, his eminence emphasized that there was no difference between Labor, Likud, and Kadima regarding their attitudes towards Palestinians and Arabs, stressing that all Zionist parties were the same.	Total
	However, Sayyed Nasrallah called on everyone not to worry a lot due to the results of the Israeli elections. "All the Israeli leaders who threaten us were defeated in Lebanon," his eminence recalled, noting that there was no difference between the Israeli parties. "However, Israel is not as mighty as it used to be and the resistance is not as weak as it used to be," the Resistance leader emphasized. Sayyed Nasrallah also pointed out that, among the Israeli leaders who took part in the recent elections, Yisrael Beitelnu Chairman Avigdor Lieberman is "the only one who has yet to lose in Lebanon."	Choose
1	Recalling the Israeli 22-day offensive against the Palestinian people in the Gaza strip, Sayyed Nasrallah noted that the main lesson learned from the Gaza war was that the Israeli army is not capable of winning a battle. The Israelis did not try to storm residential areas in the Gaza strip because they were "scared of facing the resistance,"	
	his eminence emphasized.	28/02/
	Sayyed Nasrallah addressed the Israeli upcoming government warning against any attempt to "invade" Lebanon once again. "The students of Hajj Redwan, Sayyed Abbas Moussawi and Sheikh Ragheb Harb will destroy the	Sheikh
1	Israeli Army tanks in case it tried to invade any part of Lebanon," his eminence vowed.	27/02/
	SAYYED NASRALLAH: WE HAVE RIGHT TO POSSESS ANTI-AirCRAFT WEAPONS AND USE THEM Meanwhile, Hezbollah Secretary General refused to admit or deny what is said about the Resistance's acquiring of	Hezboil
	arms. "Of course, I do not admit nor deny what is said about the Resistance's acquiring of defense Air weapons," the Resistance leader said.	27/02/ Israeli
	"Every few days there is an Israeli media report that the resistance has obtained advanced Air-defense weapons, of course I don't deny or confirm this," Sayyed Nasrallah said. "What I want to confirm today is that we have every right to obtain any weapon, including Air-defense weapons, and we have every right to use this weapon," he said.	Gaza
	"We have the right to acquire any kind of weaponry, including the anti-Aircraft weapons, and we have the right to use it," Sayyed Nasrallah declared. "It is our right to possess any weapons, including Air defense, to defend our lead "bit series or related."	01/03/ "Ambas
	land," his eminence explained.	Relatio
	Sayyed Nasrallah noted that obtaining such a system would tip the balance in any conflict with Israel because the Zionist entity relies heavily on Air supremacy in its military planning.	01/03/
	CHARLE MACRALLIA TODAY TO COURT OF MAIN REDWIN MODE THAN DIED	US adm
	SAYYED NASRALLAH: ISRAELIS SCARED OF HAJJ REDWAN MORE THAN EVER Meanwhile, Hezbollah Secretary General renewed his pledge to retaliate the assassination of Islamic Resistance top commander Imad Moghniyyeh (Hajj Redwan), However, Sayyed Nasrallah noted that the Resistance's great	Bomb
	martyr has scared the Israelis following his assassination more than ever.	01/03/
	40 TB 64	MP Har
	"Imad Moghniyyeh will continue to hunt the Israelis wherever they go, day and night," Sayyed Nasraliah vowed. His eminence stressed that he was not concerned with clarifying things concerning the revenge. "Some of those who wrote during this month about the issue were ambiguous. They ask about the reasons of the delay in Hezbollah's retaliation and at the same time warn that any act could plunge the country into a rejected war," Sayyed Nasraliah noted. "Anyway, I don't have to repeat the pledge but we promised and we will fulfill our	
1	promise of course," Sayyed Nasrallah vowed.	28/02/
	SAYYED NASRALLAH CALLS ON NATION TO SUPPORT RESISTANCE	Sheikh
	Before turning to the local affAirs, the Resistance leader didn't forget to urge the whole nation to support the resistance option in confronting the Zionist enemy. His eminence called on Arab and Islamic governments,	28/02/
	including those who might have negotiated with the enemy, to embrace the Resistance. "It's wrong to set the Resistance factions accountable because the Resistance is no doubt strength for the nation," Sayyed Nasrallah	Hamas:
	resistance factions accountable because the Resistance is no doubt strength for the nation, Sayyed Rasralian emphasized.	28/02/
	His eminence, meanwhile, renewed his support to all forms of dialogue and to the Palestinian-Palestinian	US, Isra
http://www	.almanar.com.lb/newssite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=74274&searchText=Air defense&language=en	3/1/2009

reconcilation. Sayyed Nasrallah also welcomed any inter-Arab reconciliation, especially between Saudi Arabia and Syria. "We support any kind of Palestinian reconciliation, and we express our support of any kind of Arab rapprochement; especially between Saudi Arabia and Syria," his eminence said.

Confere

11/11/:

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SAYYED NASRALLAH CALLS FOR CALM, DENOUNCES VIOLENCE

Sayyed Nasrallah devoted a large part at the end of his speech for the Lebanese internal affAirs. His eminence commented on Saturday's commemoration of the forth anniversary of the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri by the March 14 forces. His eminence expressed hope that one day, the blood of martyrs, especially the great ones, would bind the Lebanese together.

While stressing on the serious need to respect all martyrs, Sayyed Nasrallah called for calm and condemned violence that resulted in the death of a civilian after taking part in the March 14 festival. "The escalation of rhetoric resulted in violence, however, violence is denounced," Hezbollah Secretary General affirmed, while asking the youth to fear God, and not to express rage in a way that destroys the country and throws it into hell.

"Lutfi Abbas Zeineddine's martyrdom is painful for us," Sayyed Nasrallah emphasized, calling to tackle the underlying causes of the incident in order to prevent the repetition of such incidents in the future. His eminence relayed condolences to the Progressive Socialist Party and its leader MP Walid Jumblatt as well as Zeineddine's family.

SAYYED NASRALLAH CALLS FOR MASS PARTICIPATION IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

The forthcoming parliamentary elections were also tackled by Hezbollah Secretary General who called on the Lebanese to take part massively in the elections in order to express themselves. His eminence called on all political factions to set the stage for the elections without provocation.

Sayyed Nasrallah stressed that Lebanon can only ruled by consensus, irrespective of whoever wins the majority in the elections. His eminence declared that if the opposition wins the election it will offer the other party the blocking minority. "However, if they refused, we will offer a new model far from revenge and maliciousness," Sayyed Nasrallah emphasized, adding that the opposition would then rule without consensus, but with a national perspective.

"Ignoring the parties representing Christians is the reason behind the quartet alliance failure," Sayyed Nasrallah said. His eminence declared, afterwards, the end of the age of bilateralism, reiterating once again that "only consensus will protect Lebanon."

"If the monopoly persists, there will be no country left to govern," Sayyed Nasrallah explained.

Sayyed Nasrallah also urged MPs to adopt a law allowing those who are 18 years old to vote in the forthcoming elections. "You have to fulfill your promises and offer the young generation the ability to take part in the decisionmaking process, if not this year then the next one," his eminence addressed the MPs.

YASSER ABBAS MOUSSAOUI VOWS TO CONTINUE MARTYRS' PATH

The Loyalty to Martyrs' ceremony has started with the martyrs' families' word that was delivered by Yasser Moussaoui, the son of martyr Sayyed Abbas Moussaoui, on behalf of his family, the family of Hajj Redwan and the family of Sheikh Ragheb Hairb.

Moussaoul vowed to continue the martyrs' path until achieving complete victory or joining the procession of martyrs. He stressed that the Resistance was firm and solid, noting that this firmness would continue until achieving complete victory "no matter how many sacrifices should be paid to reach this goal." He stressed that the 27 years of the life of the Islamic Resistance have proved that the force which is based on the belief in God is the best means to liberate the land from the occupation. He concluded by calling on Muslims and Arabs to stop betting on a fake "peace."









Visitors Comments

Allahu Akber

17/02/2009 00:05:00

Javaid Khan | Pakistan

http://www.almanar.com.lb/newssite/NewsDetails.aspx?id=74274&searchText=Air defense&language=en

3/1/2009

APPENDIX X—POLITICAL CARTOON 1



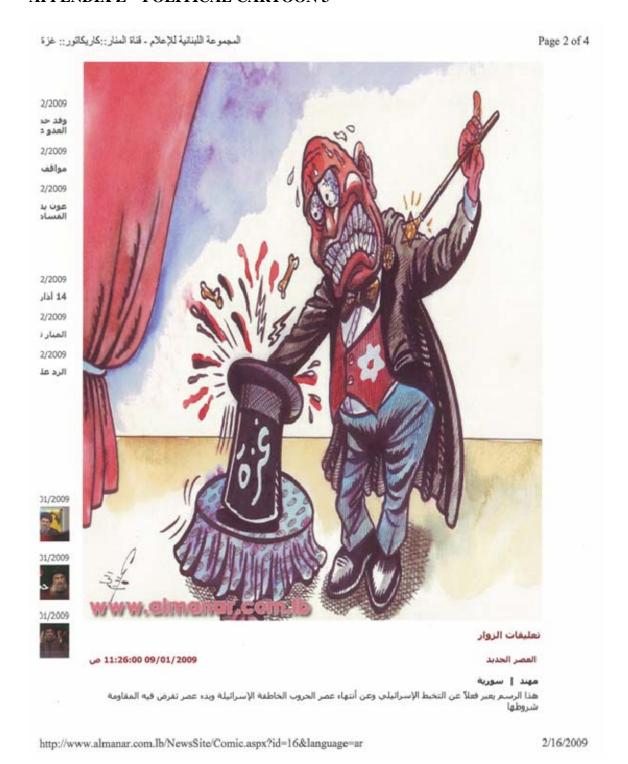
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APPENDIX Y—POLITICAL CARTOON 2



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APPENDIX Z—POLITICAL CARTOON 3



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